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THE CHRISTIAN PROPHETS
AND
THE PROPHETIC APOCALYPSE



THE
CHRISTIAN PROPHETS

AND THE
PROPHETIC APOCALYPSE

BY

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Surely the Lord GOD will do nothing, but He revealeth His
secret unto His servants the prophets.

ΕΥΔΟΚΗΣΕΝ Ο ΘΕΟΣ ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΨΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΥΙΟΝ.

We are the disciples of an Ascended Prophet.

PREFACE.

THE present treatise is an attempt to deal with the most important body of teachers and the most characteristic kind of teaching which have ever escaped notice, in their specific features, by theologians ancient and modern.

The body is one to which our Saviour himself belonged: the teaching is one which is prominent in many of St Paul's Epistles, which is only less clearly marked in the Epistle to the Hebrews, and which in most of the Catholic Epistles and in the Apocalypse has dominated the entire composition.

It has been usual to commence the study of the New Testament with the first Gospel or the first Epistle. Would it not be well if, for the next generation or so, students were to begin with the closing books of the Bible?

To treat the Prophets in the New Testament as mere preachers would be as unjust on the one hand as to label them chiliasts or believers in the millennium would be unfair on the other.

The Prophets claimed the same name as their predecessors of the Old Testament. They enjoyed one of 'the greater gifts.' St Paul clearly implies

that they are an order (1 Cor xii 31, xiv 40). They formed the nucleus round which gathered the first elements of Christianity.

They deserve a very much more thorough investigation than I have been able to give them. Yet to most thoughtful and earnest persons they are an unregarded quantity.

The origin of this little book is the requirement by my University of a dissertation for the D.D. degree, for the purpose of which the first part of the book (chapters I--IV and VI) has been submitted to the Divinity Professors, under the title of 'The Authorship of the Apocalypse.'

As I advanced into the subject I found it more and more fascinating, but only in proportion as I studied and formed my own opinions upon the original authorities. It was impossible to treat of the Authorship without treating of the Date, Occasion, Name, Environment, and Atmosphere of the Author, and of other works cognate with his or supposed to be from his pen.

Let me gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to Zahn in his *Einleitung in das N.T.*, vol. II, some pages of which I have translated in chapter III. While I have felt his stimulus continually, and Westcott's and Lightfoot's also, I am as little able to adopt Zahn's conclusion, that the Fourth Gospel is an earlier writing of the Seer of the Apocalypse, as Westcott's and Lightfoot's that it is a later writing of the same author. Zahn places St John's Gospel about 85 and his Apocalypse about 95 A.D. Our

English theologians place the Apocalypse about 70, and the Gospel about 95 or 100.

The view which evolves itself in these pages is briefly as follows. The gift of Prophecy was continuous from Jewish to Christian times. The Apocalypse is the fullest and ripest fruit of Christian Prophecy. The Fourth Gospel is designed to represent a non-prophetic aspect of the original facts of the Saviour's life; and as it quietly 'fulfils' and corrects the Synoptic Gospels, so it is designed to 'fulfil' and correct the Apocalypse. The Prophet and Elder and Seer who wrote the Apocalypse, so far from being the Evangelist, differs from him *toto caelo*. The Prophetic order became enfeebled in the first half of the second century by the growth of the irregular and dangerous vagaries of the Montanists; while the acceptance of the Fourth Gospel coincides with what to the Prophets was the rival growth of church order and episcopal organisation. The Churches were compelled by the divine law of their being to decide between Prophecy and Order. The chief theatre of the conflict was Asia Minor.

Yet, if I am not mistaken, it will be found that the Prophets are the hinge on which the door, so long set ajar upon the Sibylline leaves of Jewish Messianic literature, was by the gentle breath of the Spirit turned open at length towards the Christian Gospels,

verso tenuis cum cardine ventus
impulit, et teneras turbavit janua frondes.

And I think it will prove some day to be true that

the three Synoptic Gospels come to us through the Prophets. I hold that St Luke at least was a Prophet, and that he wrote 2 Peter for the Apostle.

It is hardly too much to say that, if one writer had to be named as *not* the author of the Apocalypse, it would be the author of the Fourth Gospel. One definite conclusion to which the present enquiry has led me is that the Seer had been a Jewish Elder, in fact a member of the Judicial Committee of the Sanhedrim. But I am aware that no two persons have ever agreed upon more than a few points together connected with this enigmatic work. Unfortunately, in spite of its exalted strain, its sublime celestial hymns, and its many beautiful household words, it has become a sealed book to most people for want of a guide.

If this treatise should be found to serve as a help, written from the standpoint of reverent commonsense, I should feel myself rewarded.

Though I have ventured often to differ from illustrious writers and faithful labourers in the field of theology, I trust I may not seem to slight their authority or to doubt their superior learning. But one of the worst misfortunes that can befall theology or any other study is that a writer however accurate or powerful should be supposed to be above criticism.

I would earnestly beg the reader to be kind enough to verify the marginal references to the N.T. with an open Bible.

UPPINGHAM,
Easter Eve, 1900.

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OBSERVATIONS.

Ecstasy=a state of mental abstraction in which the Prophet was when he received an Apocalypse.

Prophecy=the verbal expression of the Apocalypse whether before or after it was submitted to the decision of the Prophets in session.

Apocalypse=Revelation.

Didachê=Teaching.

Jn = the Fourth Gospel.

Mt, Mk, Lk, = the Synoptic Gospels.

Ap=the Revelation of St John the Divine, who is here not called St John but John, for distinction.

Clement of Rome died 95—100 A.D.

Ignatius died about 110—115 A.D.

Irenæus died about 203 A.D.

Clement of Alexandria died about 203 A.D.

Tertullian died about 230 A.D.

Origen died 253 A.D.

Eusebius died 339 A.D.

On page 129 the references are to the tract *Sanhedrin* of the Mishna, which appears to be our only authority for the proceedings of the Judicial Committee.

THE CHRISTIAN PROPHETS.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORICAL OUTLINE OF CHRISTIAN PROPHECY.

Apocalypse and Prophecy at Corinth.

AN Apocalypse was not an unusual phenomenon in a Christian Church composed largely of heathen elements before the year 60. In the graphic picture drawn by St Paul of the Corinthian Church we 1 Cor xiv have his deliberate comparison of the various gifts of the Spirit which the members of the congregation coveted and competed for so eagerly. He encouraged this eagerness, but with a clear preference for Prophecy, xiv 1 as compared with Tongue-speaking. The former gift was exercised with the consciousness of the subject, and it issued in something logically intelligible. To use the latter gift, which issued in a jargon of words and unduly excited the speaker, was to speak to GOD instead of man, 'for no man hears'; 'but he that xiv 2 prophesieth speaketh to men edification and exhortation and encouragement,' 'he edifieth a Church.' xiv 3

Prophecy is not a coextensive term with Apocalypse:

St Paul might 'speak to them either by Apocalypse

1 Cor xiv 6 or by Knowledge or by Prophecy or by Doctrine.'

Still the gifts were similar. 'When ye assemble,

each one hath a Psalm, hath a Doctrine, hath an

xiv 26 Apocalypse, hath a Tongue, hath an Interpretation.'

But in the same passage, which is one of unique importance for the understanding of the activity of

Prophecy, he proceeds to formulate rules for the exercise of these gifts. We shall have to refer more

than once in the following pages to these concise and

abrupt Pauline regulations, which we may call Rules

of the Prophets and Tongue-speakers in Session.

'If a man speak with a Tongue, let it (be done) by two or at most three at a time, and in turn, and let

one man interpret: but if there be not an interpreter (present), let him keep silence in church, and

speak (only) unto himself and to GOD. But as to

Prophets, let them speak two or three (at a session),

and let the rest (of the Prophets) discriminate (as to the value of their utterances): but if an Apocalypse

be given to another (Prophet) while he is seated, let the first (Prophet) continue silent (during the Apoca-

lypse). For ye can all prophesy one by one, in order that all may be learning and all exhorted,—and spirits

which inspire Prophets are subject to Prophets collectively, for GOD is not One of confusion but of

peace,—as in all the Churches of the saints.' It

would however be too much to say (with Zahn, *Einl.*

II. 594)¹ that a Prophet *only* spoke when he had had an Apocalypse.

Besides this St Paul has given a numerical order of the Gifts (*χαρίσματα*), of which he recognises some as 'the greater,' while all are contrasted with ^{1 Cor xii 28 ff} the Way or Method (*ὁδός*) of Christian love, which, he says, 'I point out for you in the direction of excellence.' The order is: 1, Apostles; 2, Prophets; 3, Teachers (of Doctrine); 4, Powers; 5, Gifts of Healings, Assistances (nursing), Pilotings (wise counsels), kinds of Tongues. The list does not include Apocalypse, nor Knowledge. Yet elsewhere Knowledge

¹ Zahn has concluded his last great theological work, of solid learning and lasting value (*Einleitung in das N.T.* vol. II. 1899), with the following sentences: 'He who considers the Apocalypse to be the artistic patchwork of a seer who has seen nothing may busy himself further to find more satisfactory solutions of the numerical riddle 666, and others in the book, than have yet been discovered under such an hypothesis. We others, who mindful of St Paul's warning find ^{1 Th v 20} genuine prophecy in the Apocalypse, of which we hope to understand something now, and more later, shall, in spite of the unsparing ridicule that awaits us, recollect the word: Prophecy is not for the ^{1 Cor xiv 22} unbelieving, but for the believing.' The quotation must not be allowed to pass without the prefix of the noble words of St Paul in the context: 'Brethren, be not children in mind, howbeit in malice be ye babes, but in mind be grown men. In the law it is written' (a favourite passage with the Prophets): 'By men of strange tongues and by the lips of strangers will I speak to this people, and even so they will not hear me, saith the Lord. Wherefore the (gift of) Tongues is *for a sign* not to the believing but to the unbelieving, but the (gift of) Prophecy is for a sign not to the unbelieving but to the believing.' The effect of Prophecy upon the unbeliever present in church, ^{1 Cor xiv 25} that 'he will fall down on his face and worship God,' offers a close parallel with the prophetic Apocalypse xxii 9.

1 Cor xiii 8 is co-ordinated with Prophecies and Tongues; and
 xiii 1, 2 with Tongues, Prophecy and Faith: and with Pro-
 xiii 9 phesy. The term Knowledge is distributive. Know-
 ledge was present in many of the Gifts. It is a fair
 analogy that Apocalypse was present in Prophecy if
 not in others also. This inference is confirmed by the
 peculiar structure of the sentence in xiii. 2, which I
 translate: 'and if I have Prophecy (and know, i.e. so
 as to know, intuitively, all the mysteries) and have all
 (experimental) Knowledge.' The R.V. seems to be in
 error here, for εἰδέναι γυνῶσιν would be a confusion of
 language for ἔχειν γυνῶσιν, γυνῶναι γυνῶσιν. Again, the
 position of πάντα after its substantive, in contrast
 with πᾶσαν τὴν γυνῶσιν...πᾶσαν τὴν πίστιν before
 their substantives, appears intentional. Thirdly, we
 are now able to understand the arrangement of
 xiv 6 quoted above: an Apocalypse is to Prophecy
 as Knowledge is to Doctrine. The first issues in
 the second as the third in the fourth.

Ecstasy and Mystery in St Paul

Nor is there wanting an illustration of St Paul's
 meaning in xiv 6. He gives a chief and crowning
 instance of an Apocalypse in his own life, in which he
 was caught up as far as the third heaven, i.e. above
 the first heaven, of clouds, and above the second, of
 stars, into the third, of angels. He knows that he
 was caught up into Paradise and heard unspeakable
 words which it is not lawful for man to utter. To

identify this with the trance (ἔκστασις) of Acts xxii 17 is unnecessary, because of the excellence or excessive number of his Apocalypses. But we may safely say ^{2 Cor xii 7} that the trance was an occasion of the 'Apocalypse of Jesus Christ,' by means of which he received the Gospel which he preached. Further, the latter is, as ^{Gal i 11 f} regards himself, the mystery of the Christ, i.e. the ¹⁶ Eph iii 2 truth into which Jesus the Christ initiated him : it is ^{iii 4} as clear as daylight, and the translation 'mystery' is ^{Rom xvi} one of the modern English drawbacks of the Gospel—²⁶ owing to the unfortunate paronomasia which is obvious : which truth was not in other generations made known to the sons of men as now it was revealed (ἀπεκαλύφθη) to His holy Apostles and Prophets in spirit. The substance of the Pauline Apocalypse is the admission of the heathen to the fullest fellowship of the promise in Christ Jesus. In this wide opening of the door of faith to all it offers a pointed contrast to the Apocalypse of John which maintains some Jewish reservations. Smaller details ^{xxii 2 etc} of the individual life and movements from place to place were also in St Paul's case guided by Apocalypse. If the term on the whole is narrowed to an ^{Gal ii 2} ^{Phil iii 15} eschatological meaning, and is applied more and more to the issue of the last things, at least within the ^{i Pet i} ^{5, 7, 13} ^{iv 13, v 1} limits of the N.T., it seems on the other hand to bear ^{Ap i 1} ^{i 7} in St Paul's mind less and less of this restriction. Outside of ^{i Cor i 7} 2 Th he applies it only once perhaps to the last things. And yet when this passage is

compared with the similar one in Rom viii 18 ('the earnest expectation of the creation waiteth eagerly for the Apocalypse of the sons of GOD') even this application becomes doubtful. St Paul in Rom viii is dealing with the future history of the visible world. With the sanguine courage of a marvellously true Prophet, he foresees that the labouring earth will produce a Titanic brood, not of rebels who will vainly essay to scale the heights of heaven, but of children of GOD who will prove indeed to be sons of GOD, and who will deliver mother-earth from her bondage of corruption and aimlessness into the service to His will which is perfect freedom. Creation is the theatre in which this great drama is to be wrought out, and the Apocalypse of the future glory (i.e. the fulness of the attributes of man as GOD sees him to be) will be brought to us and into us. Instead of a catastrophic end of the world, on which his thoughts used to dwell when he wrote his earlier epistles, they now dwell more and more upon a glorious future in which the kingdom of heaven is within us, and our bodies are the temple of the Holy Ghost. He has sublimated the crude ideas of the Millennium into a long and indefinite period of orderly, reasonable, Christian service, of men who represent GOD on earth and own Him as their Father.

Rom viii
20

viii 18

1 and 2
Thess

St Paul sublimates Heathen and Prophetic Ideas.

It is possible to treat the passage as an instance of St Paul's Rom viii power of transfiguring current ideas, and of sublimating metaphors 18—25 which proceed from a common or heathen origin. I used to think that the underlying thought was here the famous frieze of the great altar at Pergamon, which St Paul had doubtless visited. 'There was at Acts xvi Pergamon,' says Ampelius (3rd century: *Liber Memorialis*, 'Miracula 7, 8, xix 10 Mundi,' see Perry, *Greek and Roman Sculpture*, 1882, p. 542), 'a great altar of marble, 40 feet in height, with very large sculptures representing the battle of the Gods and Giants.' Ninety-four large slabs of the gigantomachia (about three-fifths of the entire frieze) are now in Berlin. The work was no doubt an offering of the wealthy and artistic Eumenes II for his victory over the Gauls, and was some 200 years old when St Paul saw it. The particular form of the myth adopted in the frieze is that which we find in the pages of Apollodorus (140 B.C.), and in the gigantomachia of Claudian. The mighty mother Earth, having led her Titans against the bright citadels of the Gods, and suffered defeat, now creates a new brood of monsters to hurl once more on her ancient foes. Some of the Giants are of the noblest type of vigorous youth or mature manhood, hardly to be distinguished from their divine adversaries. The mighty form of Gê is represented half emerging from the ground and with piteous look supplicating mercy for her sons. (See also the Pergamene Frieze, L. R. Farnell in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1882—3.) But to John the Seer this famous altar is Satan's seat. Ap ii 13

The Pergamene monument may have suggested the latter part of the strong metaphorical passage, but the earlier is derived from the images of Is lxvi 6 f., Mic iv 10. So too does the very remarkable and crucial passage, Ap xii 2. I believe the affinity is more than a fancy between Rom viii 15—23 and Ap xii, Ign. *Eph.* 19, and *Prot-evangelium Jacobi* 17—22, (see Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*). The two latter professedly deal with the infancy of Jesus Christ. Although the two canonical passages do not easily disclose the intermediate steps of thought between the O.T. ideas and those which are immediately present to the writers, and although Rom viii may not receive much illustration from the present comparison, I believe that Ap xii certainly does, and I infer that it too is a picture of the birth of Jesus Christ—an inference of the very first importance. The passages are translated and arranged in the following conspectus.

Some Prophetic ideas of the birth, life, and death of Christ.

Ignatius, *Ep. to the Ephesians* § 19

And *hidden from this world* the prince of virginity of Mary and her *child-bearing* and likewise also the death of the Lord, and three mysteries of a *loud cry* (*μεγαλή κραυγή*), the which were wrought in the silence of God. How was he then made *manifest* to the ages? A star shone forth in the heaven *above all the stars* and its strangeness caused amazement: and all the rest of the constellations with the *sun* and *moon* formed themselves *into a chorus* about the star but the star itself far outshone them all; and there was perplexity to know whence came this strange appearance which was so unlike them. From that time forward every sorcery

Ap xii

The child was caught away (*ἡρπάσθη*...5), the woman fled (6). Satan who deceiveth the whole world (9).

She cries aloud (2). In pangs of travail (2).

Now is come (10).

A woman clothed with the sun (1), and the moon beneath her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars.

Be joyful, ye heavens and all who tabernacle in them (12).

Protevangelium Jacobi (about 150 A.D. Tischendorf).

Rom viii

revealed (18). Whereby we cry aloud Abba Father (15). groaneth and travaileth (22)

We saw a star of great size that flashed among these constellations and made them dim (21).

earnest expectation (19)

And I looked up into the air and saw the air perplexed (18). Because they saw this strange sight (19).

'Cave of Treasures' quoted by Cureton *Corpus Ign.* p. 286.

For 2 years before the birth of Christ the star appeared to the Magi: for they beheld the star in the firmament of heaven which shone with a light, the appearance of which was greater than all the stars: and there was a girl in the midst of it holding a boy, and a crown was placed upon his head, according to the custom of the ancient kings and Magi of the Chaldeans.

'vanity' (20)

and every thralldom was dissolved, the ignorance of wickedness vanished away, the ancient *kingdom* was *pulled down*, when God appeared in the likeness of man, unto newness of everlasting life; and that which had been perfected in the counsels of God began to take effect. Thence all things were perturbed, because the *abolishing* of death *was taken in hand*.

The accuser.....is cast down (10)
The *kingdom* of our God (10).

Into the desert into her place (14).

Knowing that he hath but a short time (12).
Who is to shepherd all the nations with a staff of iron (5).

Water as a *river* that he may carry her away with the river (15).

And the earth assisted the woman, and the earth opened her mouth and swallowed ... (16).

Where shall I lead you away and hide your disgrace? For the place is desert (17).

And behold the sheep were being driven, and they did not go forward but stood still, and the *shepherd* lifted up his hand to smite them *with his staff*, and his hand stood upright (18).

And I looked upon the torrent of *the river*, and I saw the mouths of the kids not drinking (18).
Immediately the mountain was split open and received her (Elizabeth).....for an angel was with them, guarding them safely (22).

bondage of corruption (21).

NOTE.

Lightfoot's reading and rendering of Ign. Eph. 19 is not convincing. He omits *and* before *three mysteries*, but *and* is well supported by MSS. He translates *mysterics* of a *shout*, but does not shew the relation of the three first events, which he identifies with the *mysterics*, to the *shout*. I venture to suggest that we have only to compare Rom vii 15, Heb v 7, and Mk xiv 36, 39, 41, and the reference to the three-fold cry of the Agony in the Garden is clear. Thus Ign. Eph. 19 combines the Virginity, Birth, Death, Agony. Ap xii the Birth, Death (Descent into Hades). *Protev. Jac.* the same two events with a strange distortion. Rom xii the Birth and Agony, metaphorically. *Cave of T.* treats of the Star at and before the Birth.

Some other instances of N.T. Prophecy.

If we turn to the passages where Prophecy is mentioned apart from Apocalypse, we shall find that from the days of Anna to those of Jezebel, the office was commonly recognized in various parts of the Church. St Paul's advice to the Thessalonians refers of course to N.T. prophecy. Women prophesied in the Corinthian Church, where also prophetic powers were to some extent a matter of reputation. At Rome it was a recognised Gift, with recognised limitations, for it was to be exercised 'according to the proportion of the faith,' as the historic basis of the Church throughout all ages, long before dogma began, from at least the time of Isaiah, Habakkuk, and Genesis to the end. In Asia a young infant at the time of his naming or presentation became, as at Jerusalem itself, the subject of prophecies. Prophecy was the medium of the spiritual gift at ordination. At Antioch a famine in Claudius's reign had been foretold by Agabus who came with other Prophets from Jerusalem, and among the Prophets and teachers resident there in the normal state of the Christian Church we have the names of Symeon Niger, Lucius of Cyrene, and Manaen, besides Barnabas and Saul. They ministered to the Lord in public worship, and received instruction from the Holy Spirit (*ἐμπνεῖν* may imply the ancient form 'Thus saith the Lord') by which after fasting and prayer they laid their hands

Lk ii 36
Ap ii 20

1 Th v 20

1 Cor xi 5
xiv 37

Rom xii 6

Rom ix 33
17, iv 3
Lk xviii 8
Lk i 67 ff

1 Tim i 18
iv 14

Acts xi 27

xiii 1

upon the two last mentioned and let them go. Judas and Silas are two more who exercised their prophetic gift at Antioch as elsewhere. At Caesarea four Acts xv 32 daughters of Philip the Evangelist were prophesying, and during St Paul's sojourn there of several days at the end of his 'third' journey they were joined by Agabus, who appears on the scene as if he had not xxi 10 been mentioned in ch. xi, 'a certain man from Judaea, a Prophet named Agabus.' Like another Jeremiah, he bound Paul's hands and feet saying, 'Thus saith the Holy Spirit: the man who owneth this girdle shall thus be bound in Jerusalem by the Jews, and they shall give him over into the hands of the Gentiles.' So much respect was due to this Prophet that 'we and the people of the place' began to exhort Paul not to go up, but though he fully believed the foretold result would follow, he held to his purpose undismayed. We shall observe later that Mnason Acts xxi 16 of Cyprus, the 'old-fashioned disciple with whom we should lodge' at Jerusalem, was not unconnected with the Prophets.

Prophecy in Clement of Rome, Ignatius, and the Didachê.

The subsequent history of Apocalypse and Prophecy generally as a Christian gift is one of decadence and depreciation. Clement, who can discover Clem. Rom. Cor 12 in Rahab not only faith, but prophecy, has nothing to say about prophecy as a living force in the then

Church of Christ. He and Ignatius threw their weight into the scale of the organisation on episcopal lines, to which the prophetic order, such as it was, tended to present a rival and even antagonistic attitude.

Ign. Eph
20

Ignatius does indeed recognise an apocalyptic influence within himself. He says, "If Jesus Christ should count me worthy through your prayer, and it should be the Divine Will, in my second treatise, which I intend to write to you, I will further set before you the dispensation whereof I have begun to speak, relating to the new man Jesus Christ, which consisteth in faith towards Him and in love towards Him, in His passion and resurrection, *especially if* the Lord should reveal aught to me." But he hastens to end with another exhortation 'to obey the Bishop and the presbytery with an undistracted¹ mind.' We have, it seems, in 117 passed the time in which the *Teaching of the XII Apostles* (Syria, 100 A.D. Lightfoot, 130—160 A.D. Harnack) was closely observed. It says,

Teaching
10
11

'Permit the Prophets to offer thanksgiving as much as they desire... But concerning the Apostles and Prophets, so do ye according to the ordinance of the Gospel. Let every Apostle, when he cometh to you, be received as the Lord; but he shall not abide more than a single day, or if there be need, a second like-

¹ ἀπερισπάστῳ is a delicate hit at the ἑκστασις of the Prophets. See Justin *Dial.* 115. 'The Prophet Zechariah had not seen Jesus himself in his apocalypse any more than he saw the Devil and the Angel of the Lord with actual eyesight while undistracted (ἐν καταστάσει ὧν), but he had seen them in ecstasy when the apocalypse was made to him.'

wise : but if he abide three days, he is a false Prophet. And when he departeth, let the Apostle receive nothing but bread, until he findeth shelter ; but if he asketh money, he is a false Prophet. And any Prophet speaking in the spirit ye shall not try nor discern ; for every sin shall be forgiven, but this sin shall not be forgiven. Yet not every one that speaketh in the spirit is a Prophet, but only if he have the ways of the Lord. From his ways, therefore, the false Prophet and the Prophet shall be recognised. And no Prophet when he ordereth a table shall eat of it, otherwise he is a false Prophet. And every Prophet teaching the truth, if he doeth not what he teacheth, is a false Prophet. And every Prophet approved and found true, if he doeth aught as an outward mystery typical of the Church, and yet teacheth you not to do all that he himself doeth, shall not be judged before you : he hath his judgment in the presence of God ; *Teaching* for in like manner also did the Prophets of old time...¹³

But every true Prophet desiring to settle among you is worthy of his food....Every firstfruit then of the produce of the wine-vat and of the threshing-floor, of thy oxen and of thy sheep, thou shalt take and give as the firstfruit to the Prophets ; for they are your chief priests. But if ye have not a Prophet, give them to the poor. If thou makest bread, take the firstfruit and give according to the commandment. In like manner, when thou openest a jar of wine or of oil, take the firstfruit and give to the Prophets ; yea and

Teaching
15

of money and raiment and every possession take the firstfruit, as shall seem good to thee, and give according to the commandment....Appoint for yourselves, therefore, bishops and deacons worthy of the Lord, men who are meek and not lovers of money, and true and approved; for unto you they also perform the service of the Prophets and teachers. Therefore despise them not; for they are your honourable men along with the Prophets and teachers.' It looks rather as though the last half-dozen lines were a later addition¹ to the rest of the passage. But in any case the teaching contains the Rules of the Prophets on Circuit corresponding to those of the Prophets in Session given by St Paul.

Apocalypse in the Didachê.

Mt xxiv
11, 24

Mt xxiv
12, 30, 24

Lk xxi 12
2 Th ii

The passage in the *Didachê* ends with a short Apocalypse: 'For in the last days the false Prophets and corrupters shall be multiplied, and the sheep shall be turned into wolves, and love shall be turned into hate. For as lawlessness increaseth, they shall hate one another and shall persecute and betray. And then the world-deceiver shall appear as a Son of God; and shall work signs and wonders, and the earth shall be delivered into his hands; and he shall do unholy things which have never been since the world began. Then all created mankind (ἡ κτίσις τῶν ἀνθρώπων) shall come to the fire of testing, and

¹ So also Salmon, *Dict. Christian Biography*, Art. *Teaching*.

many shall be offended and perish ; but they that endure in their faith shall be saved by the Curse himself. And then shall the signs of the truth appear ; first a sign of an outspreading (*ἐκπετάσεως*) in the heaven, then a sign of a voice of a trumpet, and thirdly a resurrection of the dead ; yet not of all, but as it was said, 'The Lord shall come and all His saints with Him. Then shall the world see the Lord coming upon the clouds of heaven.'"
 Gal iii 13
 Mt xxiv 13
 Mt xxiv 30
 Mt xxiv 30

We note here *τῆς ἀνομίας* : which compares with the Apocalypse in 2 Th ii 3, 4, 'be revealed the man of lawlessness, the son of perdition, who opposeth himself... 7, lawlessness ; 8, the Lawless One. We may also compare the language of 2 Peter : *ἀθέμιτα* here is remarkably like *ἄθεσμοι* in 2 Pet iii 17.

κοσμοπλανής : cf. Ap xii 9, xiii 14, xix 20. *ψευδοπροφήτης*, the false Prophet who did the signs, xx 3, 8, 10.

ἡ κτίσις : Rom viii 19.

πύρωσιν : Ap xviii 9, 18, the smoke of Babylon's burning. But here again we must compare 2 Peter ii 6, 7, iii 7, 10, 12.

ἀπολοῦνται : Ap ix 11. The verb is remarkable by its rarity in Ap, only appearing xviii 14.

ὑπομείναντες ἐν τῇ πίστει : cf. Ap xiii 10, the patience and the faith. Cf. xiv 12.

σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεως ἐν οὐρανῷ : cf. Ap iv 1, along with the trumpet¹. Cf. also vi. 14.

¹ Palmer's explanation by Is lxv 2 (Rom x 21) is attractive : Salmon, *Int.* p. 562.

ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν, οὐ πάντων δέ .. Ap xx 5, 6,
 'The rest of the dead did not come to life until the
 1000 years were ended. This is the first resurrection.
 Blessed and holy is he who hath part in it.'

The Apocalypse of the *Didachê* appears to be of
 a decidedly early date, that is, before 70 A.D. But it
 would not be safe to infer that the whole of our
 present *Didachê* was the same.

Justin, Claudius Apollinaris, and Montanism.

However it was in vain, for the continuance of
 the prophetic side of the Church, that Ammia in
 Philadelphia and Quadratus (both about 117 A.D.)
 were "said to be eminent, along with the daughters
 of Philip, for a prophetic gift." Justin Martyr a
 generation later writes¹, "Among us even to the
 present day there are prophetic gifts": but he adds
 that as the Jews had false prophets, so among the
 Christians then there were many false teachers in
 accordance with Mt xxiv. About the same time a
 serious blow was dealt against the Prophets in Asia,
 by that "powerful and incontestable weapon of the
 truth Claudius Apollinaris of Hierapolis." There is
 every reason to believe that, so far as Prophecy went,
 the Cataphrygians or Montanists held the same
 doctrine of Prophecy and possessed the same gift
 as preceding generations of Christians. But self-

¹ *Dial. c. Try.* 82.

assertion, exaggeration, and irregularity may probably have roused the orderly sense of the bishops to oppose the Prophets. This led to a schism; the schism was magnified into heresy; the 'heresy' was eventually quenched and the prophetic gift was cut off and ceased, appearing only sporadically in the succeeding centuries¹.

A very early reference to John's Apocalypse is in the letter of Apollinaris² to Avircius Marcellus. He says, 'I have been somewhat in doubt about writing till now, not indeed for want of argument or to bear witness to the truth, but because I feared I might appear to give any new injunctions, or to add to the doctrine of the New Covenant, which it is impossible that any resolved to live according to the Gospel should add to or diminish' (*προσθεῖναι μητ' ἀφελεῖν*, cf. Ap xxii 18 f. *ἐπιθῆ...ἀφελῆ*). The terms applied to Montanus are that he was carried away in spirit and suddenly got into a kind of seizure and irregular ecstasy (*παρεκστάσει*) so that he was possessed by GOD and began to speak and utter strange things, prophesying, that is, in a way counter to the traditional custom which the Church has received in succession from of old³ (*παρὰ τὸ κατὰ παράδοσιν καὶ*

¹ De Soyres, *Montanism*.

² Lightfoot, *Ignatius*, vol. 1, p. 482.

³ Traditional Prophecy is fully recognised as existing. The two questions are: (a) Was the prophet's condition ecstasy or wrong ecstasy? (b) Was it allowable to speak while in ecstasy? But to raise (a) is to risk breaking one rule of the *Teaching*, see p. 13, line 6.

κατὰ διαδοχὴν ἄνωθεν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἔθος). The statement is prefaced by 'they say,' and Montanus' village is 'said to be' Ardabau, a village in Mysia towards (κατά) Phrygia. Though few of the Phrygians were deluded, the faithful in Asia held many meetings at many places upon the matter, repudiated the heresy, and excommunicated the adherents.

One of the tests applied by Apollinaris to Montanism was, whether it had any martyrs to shew. 'Is there one of them in God's name, O good friends, who was ever persecuted by the Jews or put to death by the heathen (παράνομον)? Not one. Nor yet has one of them been seized and crucified for the Name? No. Nay nor one of the women ever scourged in the synagogues of the Jews, or stoned? No, never.' This solemn and formal interrogative is worth notice in connection with a remark of Prof. Ramsay at the expense of Dr Spitta. He says¹, 'The idea that in great cities of the Roman Empire, some of them the residence of high Roman officials, Ephesus, Pergamos, Smyrna, &c., the Jews could persecute and kill the Christians in the public and open way that is implied in the Apocalypse does not require serious refutation. We need only recommend Dr Spitta to devote a little more time to the study of Roman Imperial history and administration, in order to learn that the Roman Empire...(would) not allow the extreme license and organised riot that are implied

¹ *The Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 300.

by his theory.' But if they did these things in the time of Apollinaris (190 A.D. Lightfoot, but I contend for a much earlier date below, p. 30) when Christians were a body quite unmistakeable, how much more would they do them in the time of (let us say) Nero with the connivance or sanction of Roman authorities? Apollinaris admits later in his third book that the test of martyrdom was equivocal, since many of the heretics have many martyrs.

Another test of the prophecies was the truth of their predictions, at least as regards the false prophetess Maximilla. She had been dead more than 13 years, and she had foretold wars and tumults (*ἀκαταστασίας*). 'Yet,' said the Antimontanist, 'there has been neither a partial nor a general (*καθολικός*) war, but even to the Christians rather a continuous peace, from the mercy of God.' Maximilla had good authority for her prediction, and the champion of orthodoxy was premature in his judgment. It is fair to suppose that the theme of the Prophetess was an extension of that of Mt xxiv, Lk xxi, and of Ap.

Among the churchmen mentioned by Apollinaris are Julian of Apamea¹ and Zoticus from Comana, whom I shall identify with the Zoticus Otrenus (*i.e.* of Otrous, two miles from Hieropolis near Synnada) 'our fellow-presbyter at Ancyra.' The name 'lively,' 'fresh,' suggests the explanation of Ap iii 1, 'Thou hast a name (meaning) that thou livest, and (yet)

¹ Lightfoot, *Ignatius*, vol. 1, p. 482.

thou art dead.' Zahn refers to the frequency of the name in inscriptions of the province¹.

Miltiades and Apollonius on Montanism.

Eus H E
v 17

Another work against the Montanists was written by Miltiades, quoted by Apollinaris: 'As I found these statements in one of their works attacking another work written by our brother Miltiades (Alcibiades² is obviously wrong) in which he (M.) demonstrates *that a prophet must not speak in ecstasy*, I summarised it.' An extract from the summary follows. 'But the false prophet is carried away by a vehement ecstasy, accompanied by want of all shame and fear; beginning indeed with a designed ignorance and culminating, as before said, in involuntary madness. They will never be able to shew that any prophets in O.T. or N.T. were thus violently agitated and carried away in spirit. Neither will they be able to boast that Agabus or Judas or Silas or the daughters of Philip or Ammia in Philadelphia or Quadratus or others that do not belong to them ever acted in this way.' Again: 'If after Quadratus and Ammia in Philadelphia the women that followed Montanus succeeded to the gift of prophecy, let them shew us what women among them succeeded Mon-

¹ *Einl.* p. 610.

² Among others Harnack is convinced on this point. *Chronologie*, p. 364. He would be inclined with Zahn to put Μιλτιάδων also in v 3, 4, rather than in v 16, 3.

tanus and his women. For the apostle shews that the gift of prophecy should be in all the Church until the coming of the Lord, but they can by no means shew any one at this time, the 14th year from the death of Maximilla.'

The next refutation of the Phrygian Prophets which Eusebius mentions is from the pen of Apollonius. *HE v 18* He accuses Montanus of disorganising marriage and organising laws, offices and salaries for the Prophets, who were to preside in a new Jerusalem at the two small Phrygian towns Pepuza and Tymium. 'Does it not appear to thee that every scripture forbids a prophet to receive gifts and money? When therefore I see a prophetess that has received both gold and silver and costly apparel, how can I fail to reject *Acts xx 33* her?' Apollonius seems not to know ch. xiii of the *Rules of the Teaching of the Apostles*. He mentions one Themison and one Alexander who had combined avarice with the claim of martyrdom: the crimes of the latter, and their punishments, 'were preserved in the public records of the province of Asia.' To refute the Montanist prophets Apollonius quoted passages from Ap. of John, but Eusebius does not specify them.

Athenagoras and Theophilus on Prophecy.

It is quite clear that in condemning the Montanist prophets a want of discrimination, and sometimes an actual confusion of thought, was shewn

by the champions of orthodoxy and Church order. Some of them were, about the same time, describing the inspiration of the O.T. Prophets in the same terms which the Montanists used for Christian prophecy. Thus Athenagoras, who presented his Apology to the Emperors Aurelius and Commodus about A.D. 176, describes the inspiration of the Prophets in a well-known passage: 'Moses or Isaiah or Jeremiah, and the other prophets, who, lifted in ecstasy above their (ordinary) reasoning faculties by the impulse of the Divine Spirit, uttered the things with which they *were being inspired*¹ (*ἀ ἐνηργοῦντο*), the Spirit making use of them as a flute-player breathes into a flute².' 'The Spirit of God has moved *the mouths of* the prophets like an instrument³.' Justin Martyr says that the prophets 'taught us nothing from their own fancy⁴,' and retained no natural consciousness during inspiration, but presented themselves purely to the operation of the Divine Spirit, in order that the Divine quill descending from heaven may make use of the righteous men like an instrument (evidently this means for immediate and ecstatic utterances of the apocalypse) of a harp or lyre, and reveal to us (*ἀποκαλύψει*) the knowledge of divine and heavenly things.' Theophilus

¹ Be it observed again that the question was not whether ecstasis was the condition of prophecy but whether a prophet might speak during the ecstatic period. Had Athenagoras only said *ἐνηργήσαντο*, he would have been accurate and orthodox in the true sense.

² Ath. *Leg.* 9.

³ *Ib.* 7.

⁴ *Coh. c. Gr.* 8, 3.

of Antioch says much the same thing¹, 'The men of God being inspired by the Holy Ghost (*πνευματοφόροι πνεύματος ἁγίου*) and made prophets, and having received the breath (*ἐμπνευσθέντες*) by God Himself and been made wise, became taught of God and holy and righteous. Therefore too they were thought worthy of the recompense to be made instruments of God and to contain the wisdom that comes from Him, through which they spoke².'

Tertullian on Prophets.

Even by the time of Tertullian, the great Montanist, we cannot but feel disappointed at the waning of the quality and quantity of prophetic phenomena. The intervals at which they 'gleamed,' as Justin Martyr said, upon the Church, were rarer and still more confined to the Asiatic sect, though it had now become active in Africa, in the Latin-speaking

EUS IV 18

¹ *ad Autolycum* II 9.

² Mr De Soyres (p. 68) is quite right in saying that the once orthodox doctrine of Justin, Athenagoras, and Montanus, was now branded as heretical. But I do not agree with him when he goes on to say: 'That which had been undoubtedly the private *αἵρεσις* of Miltiades became the doctrine of the Catholic Church. Epiphanius is perhaps the first to lay down, as a canon and criterion of true prophecy, that it must be conscious and intelligent.' 'All that the prophets have said, they uttered with the accompaniment of understanding,' or 'with sobriety (*καταστάσεις*, again the opposite of ecstasy) and accompaniment of the reasoning faculty' (*Epiph. Hær.* XLVIII § 2, 3). No. This is quite true of St Paul and John. They saw and heard in ecstasy; they spoke and wrote in catastasy or sobriety.

neighbourhood of Carthage. We have evidence to shew that Prophets and Prophetesses still delivered their utterances in church. 'We have with us,' says Tertullian, 'to-day a sister whose lot it is to possess gifts of revelations, which she suffers during Lord's day services in church in a state of spiritual ecstasy' (per ecstasin in spiritu patitur¹). But the manifestations, which include visions and addresses by angels in dreams², were apparently³ only of a special and personal kind. We have much cause to regret the loss of the works in which Tertullian dealt at length with this subject, a treatise on Paradise, and six books on Ecstasy. These are mentioned by Jerome³ and referred to by Tertullian himself⁴: 'on the principle on which we have vindicated ecstasy, or distraction (amentiam) on behalf of the new grace of Prophecy. For a person when established in the spirit ('constitutus' corresponds to ἐν καταστάσει, and looks at first sight as if it were at last being claimed for the prophetic state as it had been claimed by its opponents), especially when he is beholding the glory of God, or when God is speaking through him, must be thrown out of his senses (excidat sensu) being overshadowed of course with Divine virtue. How could Peter at the Transfiguration have recog-

¹ *de Anima* 9.

² *de Spect.* 26, *de Idol.* 15, *de Virg. Vel.* 17.

³ *Catalogue of Church Writers.*

⁴ *ag. Marcion*, IV 22.

nised Moses and Elias except in a state of spiritual distraction?' Again¹, 'the new Jerusalem is known to Ezekiel, and has been seen by the Apostle John, and is testified by the discourse (sermo) of the new Prophecy, which is at home with (apud) our faith.' And this proved to be its last home among Christian activities.

¹ *ag. Marcion, III ad fin.*

CHAPTER II.

CHRONOLOGY AND CIRCUMSTANCES OF MONTANISM.

The Reading of Eusebius H. E. v 16.

I AM convinced that the proper reading in Eus *H E* v 16 line 7 is as follows: 'Ἀρχόμενος γοῦν τῆς κατ' αὐτῶν γραφῆς τῶν εἰρημένων ἥδη πρῶτον ἐπισημαίνεται ὡς καὶ ἀγράφοις τοῖς κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπεξέλθοι ἐλέγχους. Προσιμιάζεται γοῦν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον'... The reading is discussed by Lightfoot, *Colossians*, p. 56 (1879) but he does not quote all the sentence. By the substitution of δὴ τις for ἥδη we are saddled with an anonymous writer who has troubled us a long time, yet Routh and Bright both hold to δὴ τις along with MS Reg. and Etienne. The Mazarin and Medicean MSS omit δὴ τις, so does the author of the Synodicon quoted by Lightfoot¹. The Bodleian and another MS give ἥδη (Routh), and the ancient Syr. vs. gives 'Apol-linaris' (Lightfoot). What Eusebius says is this: 'With reference now to the Phrygian heresy so called,

¹ *Coloss.* p. 60; Routh I 173.

—he has in the two preceding chapters said how the Montanists arose in Asia and Phrygia and were reaching a climax in Rome, under Florinus and Blastus, who were deposed from their priesthood—‘a powerful and incontestable weapon was raised up at Hierapolis in Apollinaris, mentioned above’ (ch. 5 about the ‘Fulminata’) ‘and others with him, several of the men of note in those parts, by the Power that champions the Truth: from whom some very considerable historical material has been bequeathed even to us. At least at the beginning of his work against them, I mean the Phrygians aforesaid, he already indicates from the first that he had advanced with his arguments against them beyond the limits of written controversy. So I infer from his opening as follows.’ The first extract shews how he had paid a personal visit to Ancyra in Galatia, and had discoursed there in church for several days in detail concerning these people and their propositions. He had shrunk from writing before for fear of adding anything to the word of Scripture. He had then been requested by the local presbyters to leave behind him a memorandum of the refutation, but, Zoticus of Otrous, his fellow-presbyter, being with him, he had not done this, but promised, the Lord willing, to write from home and post without delay. The purport of the last sentence is that Ancyra was 175 miles away from home (*ἐνθάδε* I take to be Comana = Hieropolis)—a long way, but he and

Zoticus being near neighbours could well prepare the memorandum together.

The second extract is taken by Eusebius from near the beginning of the treatise. The third is from book II, the fourth and fifth also. The sixth and seventh are from book III. Is it likely that Eusebius would have collected these passages—more than 100 lines—from an anonymous writer, when he has just mentioned Apollinaris as a powerful and incontestable weapon who was raised up to smite the Phrygian heresy? Is it likely that he should give us not a word of the champion himself, but 110 lines of some one of his circle? The Greek sentence with *δή τις* is most awkward: the *δή τις* is too late in it: the *δὲ* is wholly unnecessary: even *τῶν ἤδη εἰρ.* would be more than we want. But *ἤδη πρῶτον* supports the idea of a climax of controversy in Asia Minor which corresponds to the climax described by Eusebius in the previous chapter as subsisting in Rome, and leads up to the *καὶ ἀγράφοις* which suggests the same sort of active measures, issuing in the defeat and vexation of the prophetic party (*ἀποκρουσθῆναι, λυπηθῆναι*) in this continent as in that.

Lightfoot¹ was evidently anxious to reconcile the statements in Eusebius with those of the Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum* on the life of Abercius, which he says is ‘disfigured by extravagant fictions’ and ‘may safely be pronounced spurious.’ A later admission of

¹ *Coloss.* p. 54.

his¹ is that its 'chronology is altogether at fault.' Ramsay having first dated the writing of the *Life of Abercius* 363—385 A.D. later concluded that it could only date from the 7th century². It seems a pity that this 'Life' was ever mixed up with historical inquiry into the Montanists.

Eusebius on Apollinaris elsewhere.

What is more to the purpose is Eusebius' remark elsewhere on Apollinaris's writings. 'Also the works Eus IV 27 which he composed after these 'Against the heresy of the Phrygians,' which was revived not long afterwards (*μετ' οὐ πολὺν καινοτομηθείσης χρόνον*) but was then (when he wrote) just beginning to sprout, as it were (*ὥσπερ ἐκφύειν*), while Montanus along with his false prophetesses was beginning his departure into error' (*παρεκτροπήs*). I cannot see what dates are assigned by Lightfoot to Claudius Apollinaris, except that he says he wrote against the Montanists after his *Apology to M. Aurelius* which was after A.D. 174. I think this is not a necessary inference at all. In the passage just quoted Eusebius says: "Now while many works IV 27 of Apollinaris are preserved in many places, those which have come into my hands (*εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλθόντα*) are as follows: An 'Address to the (aforesaid) emperor,' and '(an Address) to the Greeks, five (large)

¹ *Ignatius*, vol. I, 484.

² 'The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia.' *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, IV 2, p. 425. 1883.

treatises' (συγγράμματα). And 'Concerning Truth,' first and second, and 'To the Jews,' first and second (treatises). And the treatises which he composed after these &c." It is plain upon consideration that we are not bound to consider that all these works are quoted by Eusebius in strict chronological order of composition. Is it likely that a writer who had never put pen to paper would make his literary *début* with an address to an Emperor? The obvious explanation is that the address to the Emperor is mentioned first as most distinguished and perhaps most famous. But 'after these' means after the two volumes of the address to the Jews, perhaps after some of the others also. It is certain that he was a man of mark before he ventured to address the Emperor. This address may well have been his last and crowning work. But I am sorry to see that Harnack¹ continues the same assertion as Lightfoot: 'According to Eusebius the γράμματα of Apollinaris against Montanism were written *after* his other writings; but he also says they were composed at the beginning of the history of Montanism.' He points out however that it is nowhere said that Apollinaris wrote after Commodus began to reign (which is just the time that Lightfoot chooses for him, *Ignatius*, i 483). Harnack also holds to the 'anonymous' Antimontanist and makes him write 192 A.D.

¹ *Die Chronologie der altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius*, 1897, i 361. But they were συγγράμματα, which is more than γράμματα.

An attempt to fix the Chronology of Montanism.

I cannot however leave the complicated question of the Montanist chronology without one attempt to clear the ground. The old view that Montanism began in the first half of the 2nd century, held by Blondel, was revived by Schwegeler¹ and Hefele² on the ground of the *Shepherd of Hermas*, which opposes Montanist tendencies, being of necessity anterior to 151 when Pius was bishop of Rome³. I hold that the right reading ἡδη πρῶτον is a very strong point in favour of the early date about 140 A.D. To begin with a small point. Theodotus, the currier excommunicated at Rome by Victor (192—202) as a Monarchian, was not Theodotus the early Montanist, nor does Eusebius identify them. But since the invaluable discoveries of Ramsay⁴ it seems plain that the centre of the activity of Apollinaris ought to be transferred entirely from the valley of the Lycus to that of the Glaucus (near the Cludrus, now called the Sandukli). Hierapolis on the Lycus near Laodicea is always so spelt. But Hieropolis on the Glaucus, also a tributary of the Maeander, but near its source, is 'always called Hierapolis in literary authorities, though on coins

¹ *Montanismus*, p. 255.

² *Councils*, I 79.

³ 140—155 A.D. according to the oldest Roman list. Harnack, *Chronologie*, p. 720.

⁴ 'The Tale of Saint Abercius,' *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Oct. 1882; 'Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia,' *ib.* Oct. 1883, Oct. 1887.

and inscriptions Hieropolis¹. Where Greek language and civilisation had fully established itself, the name is 'Ιερὰ πόλις; the name in central Phrygia, in Cappadocia, and in Syria is 'Ιερόπολις. Hierapolis on the Lycus fell entirely under Greek influence in the first century². I believe there is no evidence to prove that Apollinaris was bishop of the town on the Lycus, nor anything to connect him with it rather than with Hieropolis. The inscriptions quoted by Lightfoot³ belong to Aezani, but this was at the source of the Rhyndakos, 95 miles as the crow flies from Hierapolis, and 65 from Hieropolis. Abercius of course has nothing to do with the former and everything with the latter. Avircius Marcellus is probably Abercius. If it should be argued that

Eus v 19 Sarapion (190—211 A.D.) says Apollinaris was bishop in Hierapolis *in Asia*, the answer is that neither Hierapolis nor Hieropolis was in the Roman province of Asia, the former being 15 miles, and the latter 50 miles from its nearest boundary. Asia is used in a wider sense by Sarapion, who was bishop of the distant Antioch in Syria.

Hierapolis is Hieropolis Comana.

Now Ramsay has shewn that Hieropolis was the native and official name of Comana, 30 miles north of Apameia Cibotus in Phrygia (which boasts the

¹ Ramsay, p. 340. Abercius.

² *Cities*, II p. 478.

³ *Coloss.* p. 58; Boeckh 3827, 3840.

famous coin as early as 211 A.D. with the inscription Noë in token of its name 'Ark,' Apameia). Naturally then the two champions of the truth (mentioned in Eus v 16) 'men approved and bishops, Zoticus from Komana kômê, and Julianus from Apameia,' were from neighbouring towns, afterwards (6th century) included in the same Pentapolis¹. But I will quote the passage from Eusebius. "In the same treatise he says that the holy bishops of that time had tried to refute the spirit that was (once) in Maximilla, but had been hindered by others, cooperating, we are to infer, with the spirit. He writes thus: And let not the spirit that wrought through Maximilla persist in saying in the same way as it did in the time of Asterius Urbanus, 'I am chased as a wolf from the Jn x 12 sheep; I am not a wolf: I am speech and spirit and power'; but let it resolve to shew effectually the power in the spirit, and prove it; and let it use the spirit to extort a confession (of its truth) from those who were then present to examine and argue with the spirit as it spoke, men approved and bishops, Zoticus from Komana kômê, and Julianus from Apameia: whose mouths were stopped by Themison and his party, thus preventing them from proving the false and misleading spirit." A very similar account of this painful struggle² is given by Eusebius on the v 18 testimony of Apollonius: 'how Zoticus, mentioned

¹ Ramsay, *Hist. Geogr. of Asia Minor*, p. 139.

² Harnack, *Chron.* p. 366.

by the previous historian also, when Maximilla was going so far as to claim to prophesy at Pepuza, had opposed her (ἐπιστάς) and attempted to refute the spirit working in her, but was prevented by those who followed her opinions.' Pepuza (and Tymium also) was within 5 or 10 miles of Comana. Harnack is inaccurate in saying that the occurrence took place *in or* near Comana. It took place at Pepuza. What can be clearer? Both accounts refer to one and the same event. Zoticus was *of* Otrous (close to Comana), *from* Comana (just then) and *at* Pepuza (close to Comana).

The Anonymous Antimontanist is Apollinaris.

I venture to think again that the chronologers of Montanism have too hastily passed over the hints of time which Eusebius gives; while the discovery of places by Ramsay has not been fully turned to account. Something must now be said as to the authorship of the second and third treatises against Montanism quoted by Eusebius, and commonly called 'second and third Anonymous.' We shall be prepared to find that Apollinaris, who was very far superior to a writer of 'tracts' (as Lightfoot calls the sources of the extracts)¹, and who, when he wrote at all, wrote volumes on a subject, would not be content with a single treatise against so important a movement

¹ *Coloss.* p. 56 note.

as Montanism. When he addressed the Greeks he composed five books: when he treated of the Truth, he wrote a first and a second: the same when he addressed the Jews. We only know that his works against the Phrygian heresy were plural: and it is Eus IV 2 no strain of probability to suppose they were three. The style of the three sets of extracts (A, B, C) is uniformly flowing, and rather more classical than that of Eusebius. Recurrent and parallel phrases are:—

τῷ προειρημένῳ (A), ἡ προειρημένη γυνή (B),

Ζωτικῷ τοῦ Ὁτρηνοῦ (A), Ζ. ἀπὸ Κομάνης κώ-
μης (B),

τὸ βλάβσιφρον καὶ ὑποκοριστικὸν καὶ λαοπλάνον
πνεῦμα (A), τὸ ψευδὲς καὶ λαοπλάνον πνεῦμα (B),
ὑπὸ πνεύματος βλαψίφρονος (B),

κατὰ Γράτον (A), τῷ κατὰ Ἀστέριον Οὐρβα-
νόν (B),

τὴν ἐν τῷ πνεύματι δύναμιν (B), τῆς δυνάμεως
τοῦ...λεγομένου...πνεύματος (C),

καὶ παρεκστάσει (A), παρεκστῆναι (B),

ἡ πρόσφατος τοῦ ἀποσχίσματος αἵρεσις (A), καὶ
γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων αἱρέσεων (C),

ἀγαπητὲ Ἀουίρκιε Μάρκελλε (A), ὦ μακάριε (B),

πλείστου ὅσου (A), πλείστους ὅσους (C),

ἀπορία (A), ἀπορήσωσιν (C),

τῶν ἀπὸ Μοντανοῦ λαλεῖν ἀρξαμένων (B), οἱ ἀπὸ
τῆς Μαρκίωνος αἱρέσεως (C).

There are some quite Platonic touches. Τὸ δέ ἐστιν
ἄρα, ὡς ἔοικε, παντὸς μᾶλλον οὐκ ἀληθές (C), πλείσ-

τους ὅσους ἔχειν μάρτυρας λέγουσι (C), ἐφεκτικώτερόν πως μέχρι νῦν διεκείμην (A), ἔστι τις, ὃ βέλτιστοι (B); οὐδαμόσε οὐδαμῶς (B), πολὺς αἰρεῖ λόγος (B), ἔσθ' ὅπη δὲ καὶ κατακρίνοντος (A). Yet ἐκάστου appears to be used for ἐκατέρου (B). Was Apollinaris an Alexandrine?

Thus the identity of authorship of the three is quite clear. The translation of the first line of the fourth extract has been missed by some through failing to observe the distinction between λεγέτω 'continue to say' and the aorists which follow δειξατω κ. ἐλεξατω 'let it make up its mind'.¹ κατὰ is 'in the time or case of,' κατὰ Γράτον in the time of Gratus. If λόγῳ is not read as Routh does after ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ, it is quite easily supplied from λεγέτω: it means 'way of saying.' The words ἐν τῷ...Οὐρβανόν are certainly not a gloss.

The third treatise is later than the others.

I see no reason why the third book of Apollinaris against Montanism should not have been written some time after the first, in fact more than 13 years after Maximilla's death. He was long before he

¹ The best instance of this distinction which I know is 1 Pet ii 17, 'Make up your mind (aorist) to honour all men, form the conception of honour to all, and then the natural results will flow from it in your several relations (present) of love towards the brotherhood, fear to God, honour to the king.' Dr Hort in his commentary *ad loc.* is far from convincing.

complied with Avircius Marcellus' request to write at all. He was then a presbyter. By the time he wrote the second book, Zoticus had become a bishop. Montanus, Theodotus, and Maximilla were dead; the last was dead more than 13 years. The Montanists had no martyrs to shew. Rumour said the leaders hanged themselves like Judas, and that Theodotus their first Bursar, who kept the prophetic bag, had been hurled by the spirit through the air like a quoit. Apollinaris is content not to think (μη...νομίζωμεν) unless he knows. *Hypotheses non fingit*. Perhaps they did, perhaps they did not, so die. Meanwhile the same prophetic spirit that had moved Maximilla was not dead, and it was combatted as before, if possible, by discussions and encounters face to face. The experienced Zoticus was still ready to oppose the false spirit of prophecy. In the third stage when Apollinaris wrote his third book, the Montanists had produced many martyrs, to whom they pointed in proof of the power of their prophecy. Alas, the Marcionites, was the reply, could do the same. Orthodox martyrs would not even suffer with them nor communicate with them before suffering. This had been the case recently at Apameia on the Maeander, and at Eumeneia (not 20 miles from Comana) when Gaius and Alexander and their companions were martyred.

Summary of Dates.

I would venture therefore to suggest with much diffidence the following chronology.

140. Montanism breaks out at Ardabau¹ while 'Gratus is proconsul of Asia' (of course *when* the dates of Gratus and of Aemilius Frontinus, proconsuls of Asia, are ascertained, as they are not yet², the question is settled). Apollinaris is charged by Avircius Marcellus to compose an account (τινὰ λόγον) of the movement, which in his neighbourhood of Comana is headed by one Alcibiades.

Eus v 16

145 about. After a visit to Ancyra, he writes Book I κατὰ τῆς Φρυγῶν αἰρέσεως. The occurrence of the outbreak is spoken of as κατ' ἐκείνο καιροῦ. Montanus is mentioned φασί τινα τῶν νεοπίστων πρώτως Μοντανὸν τοῦνομα. By this time meetings have been held by the orthodox συνελθόντων—these are less formal than 'councils'—τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν πιστῶν. Plainly Ἀσία is used loosely to include Phrygia.

155 about. Apollinaris writes his Book II. Before this time the position has hardened. The orthodox are called 'Prophet-killers.' Montanus is dead and Maximilla is dead fully 13 years.

¹ ?Blados, Blandos, see Ramsay, *Hist. Geogr. Asia Minor*, p. 133.

² Harnack, *Chron.* p. 367.

Doubtless the sect charged their deaths upon the orthodox. Harnack's idea that Maximilla presided over the sect for many years after Montanus' death¹ has no foundation at all. I venture to think he quite misapprehends the fourth extract both in whole and in parts. The 13 years fall within the long peace of the reign of Antoninus Pius 138—161 A.D. The latest date for Book II is 161. But 155 would fall just before the outbreak of persecution at Smyrna in which Polycarp perished².

160 about. He writes Book III. We cannot tell whether this also is addressed to Avircius, or whether he was dead. Lightfoot, whose fascinating restoration of Abercius' epitaph throws a most instructive light upon the ideas of the time³, says Avircius may well have gone to Rome about 163 A.D. But he may have gone there much earlier, and probably did so. He was in his 72nd year when he ordered his fine epitaph and tomb, and was in full and favourable touch with the Roman government then, for he imposes a fine upon any one who 'shall place a tomb above mine. If so then he shall pay 2000 pieces of gold to the treasury of the Romans, and 1000 pieces of gold to my good fatherland Hieropolis.' This very practical

¹ *Chron.* p. 365.

² Lightfoot, *Ign.* i. 653.

³ *Ignatius* i. p. 480.

style of a *siste viator* eclipses the quaint stone near Shakspeare's monument:

Good Frend, for Jesus Sake forbear
To digg the Dust enclosed Here.
Blest be the Man that spares these Stones
And curst be He that moves my Bones.

As to the further difficulties raised by the data given in Epiphanius (*Hær.* viii 1), Eus. *Chron.* (Jerome Marcus an. xii) and *Chron. Pasch.* i 490, which Har-nack discusses¹ and which would give us 157, 172 and 182 A.D. for the 'rise of Montanism,' a phrase which may mean almost anything, I can only say that the extracts given by Eusebius are of infinitely more value than these contradictory fixtures. It may well be admitted that the phrases of Eusebius' own in iv 27 of his history are of doubtful meaning in themselves and are intended to conceal some haziness on the part of the author. There are three metaphorical words in three consecutive lines, but I imagine the meaning to be that (1) Montanism was shewing some green above the ground when Apollinaris first wrote: that (2) its leaders shewed their course was not *κατὰ τὸ ὀρθὸν περιπατούντων*: that (3) Montanism entered on a new stage *not long* afterwards, and was re-organised, as we see in Apollinaris' book II, where Theodotus is mentioned as the treasurer keeping the bag: organisation usually means funds. But here I must leave the subject at present.

¹ *Chron.* p. 372.

CHAPTER III.

THE APOCALYPSE A PROPHETIC BOOK.

The Claim of the Book itself.

NO right understanding of the Apocalypse is possible until it is brought into relation with utterances of its own kind. Its kind is prophetic. Zahn has done well to recall attention to this fact¹. The work calls itself an 'apocalypse belonging to Jesus Christ' because GOD had given it to Him with the definite purpose that He should shew His servants prophetically what must shortly come to pass. In the accomplishment of the Divine purpose Jesus employs the medium of an Angel and shews the Apocalypse to his servant John, who accordingly writes down all that Christ or His angel has given him to see, and since it is ultimately GOD who has spoken to John, and Christ who has testified Himself to him, he has delivered GOD'S word and Christ's witness in his book as a testimony. The words are those of the prophecy, and the nature of the work is Ap i i ff.

¹ *Einl.* p. 583.

declared from the very outset as prophetic. In writing it down and despatching it as a letter to the Seven Churches of Asia, the author, so far from following any arbitrary impulse, is discharging a solemn command in relation to the whole or to the several parts. Only once is he forbidden to write what he has seen. Like the Prophets already referred to, he describes the condition in which he sees and hears the contents of the book as spiritual: 'I became in spirit.' The word 'ecstasy' is not used: nor was it necessary to particularise the mental state so far. When the historian of the Acts describes Peter's condition, and lets him describe it (he 'beholds heaven open,' 'I saw a vision') the greater precision is quite natural. The impressions upon John's mind of an angel¹ present with him to whom homage is due, are phenomena of the ecstatic condition, upon which

Ap i 11, 19
 ii 1 etc:
 xiv 13
 xix 9
 xxi 5
 xxii 10
 x 4
 i 10, iv 2
 Acts x 10,
 xi 5
 Ap xix 10,
 xxii 6, 8, 16

¹ The idea of the angel shewing comes from Zech i 9, iii 1, iv 1. John receives through this angel the effect of visionary hearing and seeing, but without his being visible. He becomes visible only in Ap iv 1, xvii 1, xix 9 f, xxi 9 ff, xxii 6 ff. It seems hypercritical to say with Spitta and others, that there is any serious difference between the order of i 10 and that of iv 2, as if 'I became in spirit before (the sight)' shewed a different hand from 'I saw...and immediately after this I became in spirit.' Still there may well be a trace of a separate time of composition (see chapter v). The angel's command in iv 2 is put in two parts 'go up' (this is intelligible after the previous verse), and 'I will shew thee' (which is explained by the following vision). In St Paul's case I can see no essential difference except that he was 'snatched' (*ἡρπάγη*) at the moment of the apocalypse; and if the question were asked 'By whom?' a fair answer would be *ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγγέλου*. The expression of St Paul implies rather more violence than that of John.

2 Cor xii
 2, 4

he bases his consciousness of having borne human witness in his book to GOD'S word and Christ's testimony, and his right to call his writing a word or ^{xxii 7, 18} words and book of 'the Prophecy.' The particular ^{xxii 10, 7, 18, 19} and repeated expression 'what the Spirit saith unto the Churches' is only another term for prophetic ^{ii, iii} utterance. But one of the clearest declarations in the book is 'worship GOD, for the testimony of Jesus ^{xix 10} is the spirit of prophecy': in other words, 'worship GOD, for by doing so, instead of worshipping me or any one else, you will be shewing the truth which you know now so well, that the witness which Jesus has borne to GOD, first in Himself upon earth, and still through His servants the Prophets and disciples, is the spirit which inspires them to prophesy still.' Formerly the spirit which inspired Prophecy looked forward to the Messiah; now it looks back to the witness which Jesus has borne, and to the history of His life as man, and in that witness it has received a new impulse. So far from contemplating an extinction of the prophetic gift and office in the Christian Church, he is intensely and profoundly in earnest. He fulfils St Paul's command and is ^{I Cor xiv 1} 'zealous that he may prophesy.' He eagerly desires to maintain Prophecy as an agency of GOD'S will, a means of its communication to men, and an encouragement to belief and perseverance.

It is predictive in a measure.

At the same time Dr Milligan¹ goes too far when he says 'Apocalypse is not a mere revelation of events that are immediately to precede the second coming of the Lord. It is no mere prophecy of the early doom of those enemies of Christian truth whom the seer saw around him. *The book is not predictive.* It contains no prediction that is not found in the prophecies of Christ. It gives no knowledge of the future that is not given first by our Lord, and then by others of His inspired Apostles.' Where then is 'the new Jerusalem coming down from heaven' foretold by Christ or His Apostles? Neither

Gal iv 26
Heb xii 22

St Paul nor the writer to the Hebrews gives any such prophecy, to mention only one. This one in the hands of Cerinthus was made to discredit the Apocalypse with many readers in the early centuries.

Eus III 28

Eusebius quotes Gaius² thus: 'But Cerinthus also who lies by means of revelations which he pretended were written by a great apostle, introduces against us, by further lying, marvellous discourses which he pretends have been shewn him by means of angels: he says that after the resurrection the royal city (βασιλείον) of Christ is upon the earth, and again that the flesh enjoys citizenship in Jerusalem and is subject to lusts and pleasures.' From this extract and from another which Eusebius gives from Dionysius of Alexandria

¹ *Baird Lectures*, p. 187.

² Rome, 200 A.D.

(250 A.D.) about Cerinthus (100 A.D.) it is plain that the second century writers fully appreciated the prophetic, and more especially the predictive, character of the Apocalypse. Dr Gloag is right in saying that if the book is not predictive, 'the Christian Church has been mistaken from the beginning.'

The term Apocalyptic.

On the other hand Dr Charles in his very interesting work¹ says 'the object of Apocalyptic literature in general was to solve the difficulties connected with the righteousness of GOD and the suffering condition of His righteous servants on earth....The Psalmists go so far as to complain that the best things of this life are bestowed on the wicked....The O.T. Prophets had...pointed in the main to the restoration of Israel as a nation....But later...the growing claims of the individual...pressed...irresistibly on the notice of religious thinkers. It was to this difficulty in particular that Apocalyptic addressed itself, though it did not ignore the former...(It) in fact presented a Semitic philosophy of religion....Apocalyptic taught universally and thus enforced the teaching of prophecy.' It would seem from this that 'Apocalyptic' was to be considered as auxiliary to Prophecy but not as Prophecy itself, nor even as a successor to Prophecy as we know it in O.T. We

¹ *Book of Enoch*, 1893, p. 22.

should have to call it poetry or poetical philosophy, and find its O.T. antecedent in Job, Pss xxxvii, xlix, lxxiii, etc. As Dr Charles proceeds to give a long array of passages to prove that the 'writer or writers of the Apocalypse are steeped in Jewish apocalyptic literature,' there is no doubt that he considers our book to belong to it, as a specimen to its class, and since the Apocalypse is far more famous than any other specimen, we must suppose that the class has been named chiefly from it. Zahn¹ rightly enters a protest against the use of the term so far as it ignores some obvious peculiarities of our book, and assumes certain formal resemblances between it and the Books of Enoch, of the Twelve Patriarchs, of Jubilees, Fourth of Ezra, the Apocalypse of Baruch, the Sibylline Oracles, the Ascensions of Moses, and of Isaiah, and treats these resemblances as constituent properties of a class. "Our book may contain a representation of the development of the world's history in the form of an antedated prophecy, but if so it is a subordinate element in it. The authors of these other books, named after Enoch, Moses, Baruch, Ezra, and Daniel, antedated their prophecies hundreds and thousands of years, sheltering them under the honoured names of hoary antiquity, and offering them to a credulous public without even pretending to have any personal relation to it." But here we have a man conversing with the Seven Churches of Asia, and delivering to

¹ *Einl.* 584.

them a book which he has based on the closest acquaintance with their present circumstances.

The Apocalypse is not mere literature.

I suggest then that the term 'apocalyptic' is only to be allowed conditionally and used with reserve, as applied to one species of prophecy: nor must it convey any foregone conclusion as to the truth or falsehood of the prophecy. Let it be understood that we have to deal with a time of the Christian Church at which "visions, inspirations of various kinds, and announcements flowing from them, were all in the day's work. Unless we set aside the witness borne by St Paul, the Acts, and early Christian literature to a prophetic spirit able to run the gauntlet of criticism by the consciousness of the Church and claiming to prove its independence of the personal will and opinion of the speaker; unless we are prepared to set down its productions as so much artistic patchwork and therefore false prophecy; we have no right to take a book originating at that time and presenting itself as a book of prophecy resting on the experience of actual visions and recognised as such by the Churches to whom it was addressed, and pronounce it a mere product of literary art or treat it as a mixture of the after-effects of ecstatic conditions and the artistic lucubrations of a literary hack¹." Of

¹ Zahn, *Einl.* p. 585, to whom I am under frequent obligations for the remarks in this chapter.

Ap x 11

course, to write a book based on visions within the author's experience, is a literary task which cannot be performed as mechanically as the development of a photographer's plate. To write down the visions is a kind of prophecy, and therefore the Prophet who resorts to writing, no less than one who speaks to the Church *vivâ voce*, requires the faculty of graphic reproduction for the Apocalypse he has received. For this he requires also the prophetic spirit, which however does not suspend its consciousness as regards the outer world and limit its spontaneity as in the previous condition of the ecstatic vision, but on the contrary awakens it and lifts it up to prophetic inspiration. The book cannot be understood except by those who take the point of view of its composer and first readers, and start with the supposition, however provisional, that the visions described by John in Ap i 10—xxii 16 were those of his own experience.

The Apocalypse is not obscure to the author at least.

The Apocalypse belongs therefore to Christian Prophecy, which as a source of knowledge, edification, and activity at the time of the Apostles was so powerful an expression of the Spirit, and as such was so highly regarded. It has of course partial parallels in Mt xxiv, 2 Th ii, 1 Cor xv, and other passages to be cited. But this peculiarity, so far as it is one,

only unites it more closely to the writings of the O.T. Prophets. It is impossible to understand the contents, origin and value of the book, indeed the sense of whole passages and the purport of the work, until the question is clearly put : what right has John to speak so of himself and his book ? The answer must be given with the sincerity indispensable in intelligence. It is a misuse of language to speak of the author as the 'Seer' if it permits of the idea that he has seen nothing but his study-lamp and some books lying round him ; and yet it is an offence against the laws of historical criticism to suppose that the author suffered with regard to the origin of his ideas, which are represented as visions, the same obscurity into which many learned readers have fallen. His expressions, as quoted above, leave nothing to desire in point of clearness, and the claim that he makes for the delivery of the revelations he has received bears no evidence of uncertainty. He knows as well as St Paul does that there were such men as false witnesses. He betrays the same abhorrence of all lies as St John in the Gospel and Epistle. In characterizing his book as prophetic and claiming a place in the series of N.T. Prophets, he does not maintain absolute infallibility for his expressions. The Prophets of the Apostolic Age were obliged to submit to the criticism of their fellow-Christians, and to be warned against unnatural excitement and the confusion of their own thoughts and fancies with

Ap i 2 f
xxii 18 f

1 Cor xv 15

Ap xxi 27
xxii 15
xiv 5

1 Th v
19—21
1 Cor xiv
32

what was given to them by the Spirit. In the second century, as we have seen (p. 17), the critical side became identical with the orthodox, and the prophetic with the Montanists. However John assures them that he is not conscious of any such confusion.

The Apocalypse is not false prophecy.

Ap ii 20,
14
xix 20
1 Jn iv 1
2 Pet ii 1
cf Mt vii
15 ff
xxiv 11, 24
Lk vi 26

On the other hand every Christian Prophet of that age must be conscious of the opposition to the false prophets who have gone forth among the Christians, the Jezebels and Balaams, and of the need of 'testing the spirits to see whether they are of God.' These are described invariably as immoral persons, sometimes as propounders of untrue doctrine. But the idea of a false Prophet is constituted by neither the former nor the latter, but by the pretence of being a Prophet and having received divine revelations when that is not the case. 'Ye shall know them by their fruits' in life and teaching. But among these fruits was, in the first place of all, the veracity of their assertions about the origin of their announcements. There can be no question with an early Christian of any uncertainty upon these elementary truths.

The Apocalypse is not written in ecstasy.

Ap i 11

Nor yet again was the book written during a state of ecstasy. 'What thou seest write in a book:' is the order which John receives through the voice of

the angel who shews him the apocalypse, but before he sees anything at all : he then receives the command through Christ himself 'Write,' &c. Hence it is Ap i 19 evident that John is not to reduce the vision to writing during the ecstasy, accompanying its phases step by step, or employing for the purpose any waking moments which might interrupt it. In any case there is no room for such waking moments before iv 1. Jesus continues His speech without interruption from i 17—iii 22. Apart from the consideration that the writing must have been recorded as much as the prostration, and that the whole dramatic vigour of i 17 the action of the vision would be sacrificed, it would be useless to have written during the ecstasy. A writing so produced would itself be only of a visionary nature, that is, it would have no more objective existence when the seer awoke from ecstasy than all that he had seen in the ecstasy. The present βλέπεις 11 has the force of a future, and the aorist εἶδες that of 19 a future perfect, like the strange aorists in x 7, xv 1 : the latter no less than the former refers to all that John is enabled generally to see in ecstasy. In accordance with this we find that what John is to see and afterwards to write down is divided into things present and things to come. Of the former kind is mainly the contents of ii, iii ; of the latter is mainly the contents of iv—xxii. The command to 'write' is to be understood to take effect after the ii 1, 8, 12 vision has ended, when he will address these words to etc

Ap i 11 the separate Churches in the book which he is told to write and send to them. They are not independent letters, or rather they are not received as such by each separate Church, but as a constituent part of the book which is addressed to the Seven Churches as a whole. The same holds good of the 'write' in i 4 xiv 13, xix 9, xxi 5. It serves to underline certain words as of particular importance. Even the prohibition in x 4 affords no basis for the view that seeing and writing were simultaneous. John must have regarded the writing down of the Seven Thunders as forbidden by GOD, and that of the other visions as commanded: the wish therefore to write what he had heard must have stirred him during the course of the vision. Thus the prohibition impressed him all the more strongly.

The Apocalypse is epistolary in form, and meant to be read in church.

If for a moment we look away from the comprehensive title of the book, we find that it wears the form of an Epistle to the Seven Churches of Asia. John opens quite in the style of the apostolic epistles with an introductory greeting, in which he speaks of himself, as of those whom he addresses, principally in the third person: although like Peter and Paul he departs from the ancient style in introducing the address along with the greeting itself. Then follows

a doxology which is separated by an Amen from ^{Ap i 5, 6,}
two following sentences which indicate the contents ^{cf Eph i 3}
of the main document; an announcement of the ^{i Pet i 3}
return of Christ given from the author's standpoint
and confirmed by 'Yea, Amen,' and an expression of ^{Ap i 7, 8}
the almighty power of GOD. At this point begins ⁹
the actual Epistle, in which, naturally in a letter, he
speaks of himself throughout in the first person. If, ^{i 9, xxii 8,}
however, the address to the readers is not repeated ¹⁸
after i 9 or in the conclusion, it follows that the
form of the Epistle, as in so many didactic and his-
torical writings of that time (St Luke, Acts, Josephus'
Antiquities, Josephus' *Against Apion*, &c.) is meant to
betoken that the contents are only immediately in-
tended for a definite set of readers, and ultimately for
a wider circle. This comprehension of the whole
book into the form of a letter does not exclude the
use of a title any more than it would in other forms of
literature. In fact a title is rather more in accordance
with the common custom. Without a title, the form
of the Epistle might lead the reader to think that
a single perusal sufficed. But John is convinced of
the importance of its contents for the Churches. It
takes its place along with the prophetic books which
the Church of Israel has inherited, as a homogeneous
work¹.

¹ In xxii 21 read either *μετὰ πάντων* without *τῶν ἀγίων* with A, or
μετὰ τῶν ἀγίων with B. The *ὁμῶν* of xxii 16 is spoken not by John but xxii 12 to
by Jesus, who addresses John once more, and therefore includes him 16

To them it is to be a possession for ever, which they are to guard as a treasure not to be tampered with, using it diligently till the expected coming of Christ, so as to give it currency in their congregations by reading it at public worship. Further, the author is convinced that the contents of the Book are intended and bear important meaning not merely for the Seven Churches, to which it is addressed as an epistle, but for all servants of GOD and Christ, for collective Christendom represented as the bride of Christ. The Churches addressed by the prophetic spirit through this book are of course chiefly the Asiatic Seven ; but beyond them his outlook stretches far more widely forth to all the Churches. But since the form of the book is that of an Epistle to the Seven, a formal title of the book was necessary in order to express its destination to the use of the whole Church and of public worship. 'A little reflection on the part of readers of recent literature on the Apocalypse would have saved them surprise at the author speaking of himself in the third person in the title, while in the course of the book he used the first person. If among the Jews the Prophet with the other Christians in this address. This concluding speech of Christ stands, like the single word of Jesus, *xxii 20 a*, outside the Visions, the series of which ends with *xxii 8—9* (or *—15*), just as the speech of GOD does in *i 8*. GOD and Christ speak through the prophets, that is through John the writer of the book, without GOD or Christ becoming visible to him. These and the above remarks are directed by Zahn against the destructive analysis, by Spitta and others, of the preface and conclusion of the work. But see below, p. 188.

Ap^{xxii 18 f}

xxii 17, 20

i 3, cf ii 7,

11, etc,

xxii 10, 17

i 1, xxii 6

xxii 17

ii 7, 11

etc, xxii 16

ii 23

i 8

xxii 12—

16, 20

Jeremiah commences his book as he does, and among Jer i 1—3, the Greeks Herodotus, with the use of the third⁴ person, while in the course of their works they resort to the first, in narrative passages, we find no suggestion of manifold authorship in this natural variation.

The Title of the Apocalypse.

‘Again many difficulties of interpretation disappear when we keep in view the idea that the composition of the book presupposes that the visions, at least those of iv—xxii, have been seen first, and that in normal circumstances, especially in antiquity, the Title is the last piece of the book to be written, just as in our day the title is the last printed. The writer therefore in fixing the Title of the book looks back not only to the apocalypses already received (‘saw’), Ap i 1, 2 but to his completed literary activity (‘testified’), and represents to himself the near future, in which the single reader will be reading his book before many hearers, that is, in the assembled congregation. But no sooner does he start the writing i 3 of the book which begins at i 4, than he has set the visions behind him and their contents before him in spirit, and his expression gains a distinctness which is only conceivable as a result of the visions. Since in i 11 there have been seven separate local Churches belonging to the province of Asia named as the recipients of the completed book, and since in the further course

of the first vision he receives the charge to say a particular word to each of these Churches, which it is to read and hear as a constituent part of the book addressed to all the seven, it follows that in composing the book these seven Churches are standing before his eyes as definite quantities. It is not *the* Churches of Asia as though there had not been as early as St Paul's time independent Churches at Colossae, Hierapolis and Troas which are not named here, but the Seven Churches named by the Angel which are all in Asia. Further, the definite mention at the very outset of the seven spirits before the throne of GOD (where instead we might have found the one spirit mentioned, on the analogy of 2 Cor xiii 13, 1 Pet i 2, of which nevertheless we seem to read in Ap ii 7, xiv 13, xxii 17), is only to be explained by the vision in which the Spirit had represented itself to John in the shape of seven lamps before GOD'S throne and of seven eyes of the Lamb standing at the throne. If we are inclined to call the definiteness of the expression in i 4, thus conditioned, a piece of literary clumsiness, it testifies in any case that the literary statement originates in visions previously experienced¹.

¹ Zahn pp. 586, 587. It must, however, be added that the seer would not have seen a vision of the Spirit as seven-fold, unless this conception harmonised with his own belief. See below, p. 185.

CHAPTER IV.

THE APOCALYPSE AND OTHER PROPHETIC WRITINGS.

The conservative treatment of the O. T. in the Apocalypse.

IF any doubt remained of the prophetic character of the Apocalypse, a glance at the quotations from the Old Testament which it contains would suffice to prove that the writer could hardly express himself in any but Old Testament phraseology. Readers will of course differ as to what does or does not amount to a quotation; but counting a context of which fragments are quoted even without actually consecutive verses as one quotation, and treating repetitions as separate quotations, I find that the following are the approximate amounts of quotation by the N.T. writers: Mt 126, Mk 71, Lk 111, Acts 136. In contrast to these the small number in St John's Gospel 27 is remarkable. In St Paul's Epistles the Romans of course takes the lead with 88, as might be expected from the scriptural and controversial character of the Epistle. 1 Cor has 33, 2 Cor 31, Gal 20, Eph 27.

From which there is a drop in Phil to 7, and Col to 5. The contrast between Eph and Col is noteworthy. But in the Pastoral Epistles we come down to 1 Tim 2, 2 Tim 5, and Titus 3. In the Catholic Epistles 1 Pet 36, and James 26, are followed by 2 Pet 6 and Jude 6. The Epistle to the Hebrews shews no less than 100 quotations, a larger proportion than any of St Paul's. But the Apocalypse exceeds all, with the enormous proportion of 518, on a moderate computation by Westcott and Hort's list.

An ordinary writer dealing with the future, as John does in at least 19 chapters out of 22, is not obliged to resort to the distant past for his language and ideas. The author of the Pastoral Epistles could deal with the problems of the present organisation of the Church, with all its delicate relations, racial, social, disciplinary, in 13 chapters of precept and advice without making more than 10 quotations. If it was St Paul, he wrote actually before the Apocalypse. There must then be something very different in his relation to his readers. St Paul once wrote an Epistle about the last things, and in the three chapters of 2 Thess he quotes Scripture 14 times, or about once in every 3 verses. John quotes it 518 times in writing only 404 verses. His mind was indeed saturated with O.T. language.

But an analysis of the authors quoted shews his very strong predilection for the Prophets. He quotes

Daniel 83 times; of course some passages are repeated again and again, such as Dan iv 30 (27). He quotes Ezekiel 80 times: Isaiah i—xxxix 41 times, of which vi 1 occurs often: Isaiah xl—end 67 times: Zechariah 22 times: Jeremiah 39 times: Amos 12 times, of which however Am iv 13 occurs 9 times: Joel 9 times. The Psalms he quotes 87 times and Exodus 36 times. About two-thirds of all his quotations are from the Prophets of O.T. Of course the explanation of these facts is that he was a Prophet himself.

The Prophets are nurtured upon the Prophets of old.

To say that the study of Prophecy by Christian Prophets, that is by Jewish Prophets who were converted to Christianity in the years 35—60 A.D., was not scientific, to say that it did not employ the comparative method, or apply historical data, or exert a critical faculty, or even regard the dates and circumstances of its treasured writings, is only to say that it belonged to its own stage of development and not to ours.

The Prophets pored upon what was ancient or was reputed to be so: enough for them that it was prophetic matter, inspired phraseology, holy language. Their duty was to awaken and keep awakened the slumbering hopes of the servants of the GOD of Israel,

to encourage them to patience and to brace their faith in GOD'S justice to the people of His covenant. To those who are seeking for fulfilments, fulfilments will readily occur. Many a text would apply over and over again to the circumstances of the suffering faithful. Many a theme would recur along with recurring conditions or without them.

Acts xiii 1 Barnabas we know was a Prophet, and his name accorded with the fact. How often must he have used the exhortation, of which every syllable rings with the ardour of simple prophetic preaching¹! At the same time he represented the less conservative spirit of the Prophets. 'He was a good (that is a kind) man and full of the Holy Ghost and of faith,' and when the time came to decide the great controversy, whether entrance into the Church of Christ was to be open to the heathens by the door of faith or by the door of ceremony, it is not surprising to find that he was on the right side along with St Paul.

Acts xiv 22
Acts xi 24
Acts xiv 27

But Barnabas' was an uncommon nature, and it stands in the nature of man and things that members of an ancient school and representatives of a venerable

¹ I could hardly bring myself to think with Dr Charles and others that Barnabas wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews with its marvellously modern tone of Christian thought and reasoning, except on the supposition that he had been more influenced by St Paul than he seems to have been from the account in Acts. In spite of some strong prophetic touches the style of language is too essentially Greek, and the favourite prophetic quotations are not present, e.g. thrice in quoting Ps ii 7, he stops short of 8 and 9. I see no reasons against Apollos, and many for him, as the author.

xii 22, 23,
xii 9,
xiii 14, 20,
vi 6 etc

order should in the religious sphere be conservative. The Prophets, steeped as deep as Rabbis in the Old Testament, nurtured in the Messianic hope, awake to every turn of events which might contribute to its fulfilment, ready to interpret the signs of the times, waiting for the consolation of Israel, amid their fastings and prayers (which Barnabas shared), were feeding their minds far more upon the language of ancient Prophecy than upon the thought which had inspired and animated its authors. The unflinching trust of an Isaiah, the rigorous impartiality of an Amos, the plaintive melancholy of a Jeremiah, the dry light of reason and clear precision of an Ezekiel, the wild self-revelations of a Hosea, were not treasured by their latest successors for the types and experiences of character which their writings had enshrined. They were not studied in any biographical or ethical or even human aspect. They were not treated analytically, so that one of them was understood as a whole, or as distinct from or related to another. Their several characteristic features were ignored. They were considered as so many contributors to a great body of teaching, authors of a circle of ideas, producers of a common store of pictures, of which the elements were promiscuous, incongruous, and often contradictory. It mattered not to the later Prophets, who found in them bright gleams of hope and solemn confirmations of the unfailing Covenant.

Combined Fragments of Quotations of O. T. in Ap.

These elements could be recombined, and the language in which they were couched was at the disposal of the living voice. One verse of the living writer will embody fragments from three different passages of Scripture (Ap i 13 = Dan vii 13 'like as a Son of Man' + Ez ix 11 'clothed with a garment down to the feet' + Dan x 5 'girt with gold' Chald. and Theod. περιεζωσμένη ἐν χρυσίῳ Ὠφάξ), from four (Ap iv 8 = Is vi 2, 3 'each one had six wings, 'Holy, holy, holy, Lord' + Ez i 18 'full of eyes around' (κυκλόθεν) + Amos iv 13 LXX 'Lord God Almighty' + Ex iii 14 'Who art'), from three (Ap vi 10 = Zech i 12 'How long, O Lord, wilt thou not' (shew mercy) + Deut xxxii 43 'avenge the blood of (his sons)' + Hosea iv 1 'judge them that dwell on the earth'), from four (Ap vii 17 = Ez xxxiv 23 'shall be their shepherd' + Jer ii 13 'fountain of water of life' + Is xxv 8 'GOD...take away every tear from every (face)' + Jer xxxi 16 'eyes from tears,') from four (Ap ix 20 = Is xvii 8 'the works of their hands' + Dan v 23 LXX 'gold and silver and brass (and iron) and wood and stone' + Dan v 4 'idols' + Deut xxxii 17 'devils (and not to GOD)' + Ps cxv 7 'cannot see, hear, walk'), from three (Ap xi 6 = 1 Ki xvii 1 'shall not be rain' + Ex vii 17 'turn the water into blood' + 1 Sam iv 8 'smite with every plague'), from three (Ap xi 15

= Obad 21 'The kingdom is the Lord's' + Ps ii 2 'The Lord and His Christ' + Dan ii 44 'his kingdom shall stand for ever'), from three (Ap xi 18 = Ps lxxviii 31 'His wrath came upon them' + Dan ix 6 'thy servants the Prophets' + Ps cxv 13 'them that fear the Lord both small and great'), from three (Ap xiv 10 = Is. li 17 '*Jerusalem*, who shall drink of the hand of the Lord the cup of his wrath' (*θυμοῦ*) + Ps lxxv 8 'cup in the hand of the Lord, full of strong drink mixed' (*ἀκράτου κεράσματος*) + Ez xxxviii 22 'fire and brimstone...in the presence of...'), from seven (Ap xv 3¹ = Ex xv 1 'Moses...sang this song' + Josh xiv 7 'Moses the servant of GOD' + Ps cxi 2 'great are the works of the Lord' + Ex xxxiv 10 'the works of the Lord...are wonderful' + Amos iv 13

¹ The change of reading here, Ap xv 3, is very remarkable. In the original of Jeremiah the passage is x 6 'There is none like unto thee, O Lord; thou art great, and thy name is great in might. Who would not fear thee, O king of nations?' This is the train of thought which has prompted the song in the Apocalypse. But the closing expression of it 'King of heathens'¹ did not commend itself to the mind of John in this context, in spite of the fact that in Deut xxxii 8 Moses himself says 'The Most High divided to the nations (heathens) their inheritance,' Heb., or 'divided the nations (heathens)' LXX. John is unable to put down as it stands an expression which seems to admit the heathen to so full and equal a share in the kingdom of GOD, and he therefore passes over three verses till he comes to the term '(everlasting) King of the ages' Jer x 10 Heb. There could hardly be a stronger proof of Jewish tenacity in John.

¹ Weiss (*Apocalypse*, p. 99 and cf. p. 5) however reads *ἐθνῶν*, but against his own principles as I understand them. He says that *αἰώνων*, though supported by $\aleph$ C 18 95 demid. tol. syr. ar., is a conformation to a quite remote passage, 1 Tim i 17. Why then should it be 'conformed'? The author himself wrote it.

'Lord God Almighty' + Deut xxxii 4 'True are thy works and all thy ways judgments' + Jer x 10 Heb 'king of the (WH) ages': x 7 'who shall not fear thee...?'), from three (Ap xviii 2 = Is xxi 9 'Fallen, fallen hath Babylon' + Jer ix 11 '*Jerusalem* (not Babylon) to be a habitation of serpents' + Is xiii 21 'ostriches and owls' etc.), from three (Ap xviii 9 = Ez xxvii 33 'the kings of the earth' 30 'shall wail and cry bitterly' + Ez xxvi 16 'lay away their robes and broidered garments' + Is xxiii 17 Tyre 'shall commit fornication with all the kingdoms of the earth': all three passages refer to the fall of Tyre, but John applies them to Babylon), from five (Ap xix 6 = Dan x 6 'like the voice of a multitude' + Ez i 24 'like the voice of great waters' + Ps civ 35 'Alleluia' + Ps xciii 1 'The Lord hath reigned' + Am iv 13 'Lord GOD Almighty'), from three (Ap xx 9 = Hab i 6 'upon the broad places of the earth' + Jer xi 15 'What hath my beloved (city) done?' + 2 Ki i 10 'There came down fire from heaven and devoured them'), from four (Ap xix 15 = Is xi 4 'he shall smite the earth with the word of his mouth' + Ps ii 8 'he shall shepherd them with a rod of iron' + Is lxiii 3 'I have trodden them in the wine-press in my wrath' + Amos iv 13 'GOD Almighty').

Quotations from Apocrypha in the Apocalypse.

But while the Prophets treated the ideas and language of the canonical books with such indiscriminate freedom, they did not hesitate to embody and interpret apocryphal statements also. Thus the obscure reference in Ap ii. 17 to 'the hidden manna' is I believe to be explained. In 2 Maccabees ii 1—7 we read: 'It is found in the records that Jeremiah the Prophet, being warned of GOD, commanded the tabernacle and the ark to go with him, as he went forth into the mountain, where Moses climbed up and saw the heritage of GOD. And when Jeremiah came thither he found a house of a cave, wherein he laid the tabernacle, and the ark, and the altar of incense, and so stopped the door. And some of those that followed him came to mark the way and the place, but they could not find it. Which when Jeremiah perceived, he blamed them, saying, As for that place it shall be unknown until the time that GOD gather this people again together, and receive them unto mercy. Then shall the Lord shew them these things, and the glory of the Lord shall appear, and the cloud also as it was shewed under Moses...' The manna in its golden pot was of course laid by in the ark, which was hidden by Jeremiah in the way described. What Heb ix 4 John says is that the reward of him that overcometh the doctrine of the Nicolaitans in Pergamon, with its temptations to eat things offered to idols and to commit fornication, shall be a portion of the manna

reserved as the food of GOD's covenant-people together with the token inscribed with the new name; both the food and the token are as yet unknown, and both will be known when received. Both promises receive the inauguration of their fulfilment before the Apocalypse ends. After the seventh trumpet and the two hymns, 'the kingdom of the world has become' and 'we give thanks to thee, Lord God Almighty,' we read that GOD's temple (shrine) in heaven was opened, and there was seen the ark of His covenant in His temple. And it was accompanied by the cloud, as foretold, for there were lightnings and thunderings and great hail. After the occurrence of the first great sign, the woman clothed with the sun, and the appearance of her foes the beasts of the sea and of the land, occurs the brief glimpse of the corresponding fulfilment, the 144,000 with the Lamb upon Mount Sion with His name and His Father's name written upon their foreheads.

Ap xi 19

xiv 1

i 16, 20,
ii 1, iii 1

Another passage in the Apocalypse, that has not I think hitherto received a satisfactory explanation¹, is that of 'the seven stars.' The key is to be found in Enoch i 18, 'And I saw a deep abyss, with pillars of heavenly fire, and among them I saw *pillars* of fire fall, which were in number beyond count alike towards the height and towards the depth. And over that abyss I saw a place which had no firmament of the heaven above and no foundation of the earth beneath it: there was no water upon it and no birds, but

¹ It is not in Charles's list.

it was a waste and horrible place. And I saw there *seven stars* like great burning mountains, and like spirits, which besought me. The angel said: (or: when I enquired of these things, the angel said:) This is the place where heaven and earth terminate, it serves for a *prison for the stars* of heaven and the host of heaven. And the stars which roll over the fire are they which have transgressed the commandment of GOD before (or, in the beginning of) their rising because they did not come forth at the appointed time. And He was wroth with them and bound them till the time when their guilt should be consummated in the year of the mystery (or, in ten thousand years)¹. I suggest that our author drew upon the prophetic cycle of ideas which Enoch i—xxxvi (before 161 B.C., Charles) represents, for his thoughts of the high responsibility of the stars which he identifies with the bright uplifted angels of the Seven Churches, of the possibility of their fall and punishment (observe the responsibility implied in the words, 'But if not,' ii 5, 16, 22, iii 3; contrast '*a pillar* in the temple of my GOD,' iii 12), and of their dependence on the Son of GOD who was 'the beginning Ap iii 14 of' their 'creation' and therefore 'holds them,' 'keeps them fast in His right hand' or 'upon it.'

¹ Charles, *Book of Enoch*, p. 89, says, 'This may be the final place of punishment for the fallen angels,' cf. Enoch x 6, 'Azazel on the great day of judgment shall be cast into the fire.' The parallel passage is in xxi. In xc, 'Judgment was first held over the stars, and they were judged,...and cast into an abyss...full of pillars of fire.'

The Book of Enoch.

The Book of Enoch, it need hardly be said, was eminently prophetic both in its origin and in its preservation. Hardly the Book of Daniel itself was more treasured by the Prophets, partly because this remarkable book struck out a new line. A Hellenist writer quoted by Eusebius¹ says that Enoch was the founder of what we should call astronomy. The Assumption of Moses² (about A.D.) probably and the Book of Jubilees (before 70 A.D.) certainly used Enoch. The Apocalypse of Baruch (soon after 70 A.D.) depends upon it. Fourth Ezra (81—96 A.D.?) uses it often. The Testaments of the XII Patriarchs refer to it often. The Epistle of Barnabas (70—132 A.D.) cites it three times, twice as Scripture. Justin Martyr and Irenæus use it. Athenagoras (170 A.D.) regards Enoch as a true Prophet. Tertullian (197—223 A.D.) regards Enoch as 'Scripture' and 'a most ancient Prophet.' Clement of Alexandria (200 A.D.) quotes him by name twice as an authority and refers to him again³.

¹ *Præp. Ev.* ix 17, 8; see Charles, p. 33, where see the other references. Dr Charles has since given a full treatment of 'Apocalyptic Literature' in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, of which I had not the advantage when these pages were printed.

² For a fuller treatment of the Jewish Apocalyptic literature see Dr Stanton, *The Jewish and the Christian Messiah*, and Dr Drummond, *The Jewish Messiah*.

³ Dr Charles gives the following dates for the different portions of Enoch: i—xxxvi before 170 A.D., lxxii—lxxviii, lxxxii, lxxix (Celestial Physics) undated, Noachian interpolations undated (both undated portions being B.C.), lxxxiii—xc 166—161 B.C. (more spiritual than Part I.

The Assumption of Moses.

There is of course a dearth of evidence for the activity of the Prophets as there is for all Jewish literature between 150 B.C. and 70 A.D. roughly speaking. Still the prophetic works already mentioned represent a large proportion of it. The different portions of the Book of Enoch are scanty pieces indeed to bridge over the last 150 years B.C. They are of course prophetic. Then we come to the 'Assumption of Moses,' in which Moses by way of legacy hands over to Joshua certain books of Prophecies which he is requested to preserve in a place appointed by GOD. Moses then reveals to Joshua in brief outline the future history of Israel from the entrance into Palestine down to the destruction of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah. Under Nebuchadnezzar the captives will remember that all this had been foretold by Moses¹. The history, as usual in these prophetic apocalyptic works, such as the portions of Enoch, becomes more detailed as it becomes more recent, and finally we are given a date or the clue to it. In this Herod the Great is clearly shewn. After this we come to 'the end of the times².' The conclusion contains the dispute between the Arch-

and resembling Daniel), xci—civ 134—94 B.C. ('fusion of prophetic and apocalyptic ideas in a profounder and more comprehensive system'), xxxvii—lxx (Similitudes) either 94—79 B.C. or 70—64 B.C.

¹ Schürer, *Jewish People*, § 32, II iii p. 74 E.T.

² The word 'taxo,' as the name of a man of the tribe of Levi with seven sons, is according to Schürer undoubtedly a corruption of the text, though Hilgenfeld has supposed it to be a reference to the Messiah.

angel Michael and Satan about the body of Moses which is referred to in Jude 9 just before the direct Jude 14, 15 quotation from Enoch. There is nothing surprising En i 9, v 4, in Jude quoting Enoch and referring to the Assump- xxvii 2 tion of Moses if Jude was a Prophet himself, which seems to me certain.

The Apocalypse of Baruch.

We have then a gap of 70 years before coming to the Apocalypse of Baruch, which purports to be a writing composed by Baruch in which he recounts in the first person what befel him immediately before and after the destruction of Jerusalem, and what revelations were made to him. Four angels destroy the Holy City; then the Chaldeans enter. Baruch remains behind among the ruins. After he had fasted seven days, GOD tells him that judgment would overtake the Gentiles also: and He calms his apprehensions generally about the prosperity of the wicked and the calamities of the righteous. Fasting and praying are repeatedly enjoined: the time of tribulation is divided into twelve parts. 'The measure of that time will be two parts weeks of seven weeks.' Baruch announces to the elders that 'after a short time the building of Sion shall be shaken to pieces, that it may be built again. But that building also shall not remain, but again after a time it shall be uprooted, and it shall remain desert for a time. And afterwards it must be renewed in glory, and it shall be crowned for ever.' Then follow new revelations of streams and trees, of

dark waters and clear alternately. 'Mine Anointed will come and will judge the nations and sit for ever upon the throne of His kingdom.' The Epistle is sent to the nine and a half tribes through the medium of an eagle. It can hardly be doubted that it is a prophetic epistle like our Apocalypse, to which it presents so many resemblances and so many contrasts, that we should almost say it was designed to supplant it in favour with readers of Prophecy. It would seem to them to have the advantage in point of veracity as regards the saving of the Temple and the fall of Rome. Our Apocalypse, whatever be its date, may have been somewhat discredited for a time after its appearance by the non-fulfilment of its prophecy, although as Hausrath says¹ in the case of the Sibylline oracles non-fulfilment, which must have been known, however dexterously concealed by later and later additions, did not injure their credit for long. Whether Papias borrowed his absurd details of the millennial kingdom from Baruch² or drew them from the same source as Baruch³, it is evident that Papias was versed in the prophetic writings then current⁴.

Ap xi
1-13
Ap xvii

Baruch
xxix 5

Fourth Esdras, and its parallels with Apocalypse.

The Fourth book of Ezra was used by Greek and Latin fathers as a genuine prophetical work. Clement of Alexandria quotes Esdras the Prophet⁵, or the

¹ *Hist. of N. T. Times*, ad fin.

² Schürer.

³ Charles, *Apocalypse of Baruch*.

⁴ Iren. v 32, 3.'

⁵ *Strom.* iii. 16, 100; Schürer, p. 109 E.T.

Esd v 35 Apocalypse of Esdras. It is nearly certain¹ that the Epistle of Barnabas quotes it as 'another Prophet.'

Barn xii Probably we owe to it the legend that when the Holy Scriptures had perished at the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, Ezra completely restored them again by means of a miracle². Ambrose repeatedly quotes it as prophetic. 'Of all the Jewish Apocalypses,' says Schürer, 'none has been so widely circulated in the early Church.' Assuming with most authorities that the first two and last two chapters are additions by a Christian hand, and that the book was written not later than 98 A.D.³, we have evidence of Jewish prophecies being written at that date and current as such. Further it was considered by the author of the Epistle of Barnabas to be Prophecy, though at his time (which we cannot definitely fix: Lightfoot says 70—79) it was so recently composed. Lastly the Christian additions, which strike a plaintive note resembling that of the Prophet Jeremiah, presuppose the existence of Christians eager to study prophetic literature. The following parallels between Apocalypse and 4 Esdras i, ii, xv, xvi may be noted for what they are worth:—

¹ But see the full treatment in Dr M. R. James's Introduction to the Fourth Book of Ezra edited from the MSS by Bensly, *Texts and Studies*, Vol. III No. 2 § 4, of which most valuable work my remarks are independent.

² Iren. iii. 21, 2; Tert. *Cult. fem.* i. 3.

³ The dates proposed are the reigns of Titus, by Ewald: of Domitian (81—96 A.D.) by Schürer, Gfrörer, Dillmann, Wieseler, Reuss: of Nerva by Volkmar, Langen, Hausrath, Renan.

- Ap ii 3, 7 4 Esdras ii 12 They shall have the tree
 xxi 4 of life for an ointment of sweet
 xxii 2, 14 savour ; they shall neither labour
 nor be weary. (But cf Gen iii 22,
 Is xxv 8.)
- ii 27 Be not weary ; for when the day
 of trouble cometh, others shall weep
 (cf. Jn xvi 20) and be sorrowful, but thou shalt be
 merry and have abundance.
- Ap ii 11 4 Es ii 29 My hands shall cover thee,
 so that thy children shall not see
 Gehenna.
- Ap ii 13 4 Es ii 36 I testify my Saviour openly¹.
 (The reference in Ap is to the temple
 of Zeus Saviour at Pergamum.)
- Ap ii 25 4 Es ii 37 O receive the gift that is
 iii 3 given you, and be glad, giving
 thanks unto Him that called you
 unto the heavenly kingdom.
- Ap iii 2 4 Es ii 13 The kingdom is already
 prepared for you : watch.
- Ap iii 2 4 Es ii 40 which have fulfilled the
 v 12, vi 11 law of the Lord.
- Ap iii 4 4 Es ii 39 which have received
 vii 14 glorious garments of the Lord.
- ii 40 Those of thine which are clothed
 in white.
- ii 45 These be they which have put

¹ James, *Int.* p. lix, prefers 'I testify that my Saviour hath been commanded of the Lord.'

- off the mortal clothing and put on the immortal. (This is from Enoch lxii 16.)
- Ap iii 5 4 Es ii 45 And have confessed the name of GOD.
47 It is the son of GOD whom they have confessed in the world.
- Ap iii 8 4 Es ii 25 Nourish thy children, O good nurse (i.e. Sion): stablish their feet. As for the servants whom I have given thee there shall not one
(cf. Jn xvii 12) of them perish; for I will require them from among thy number (?).
- Ap iii 12 4 Es ii 15 Mother, embrace thy children and bring them up with gladness, make their feet as fast as a pillar¹; for I have chosen thee, saith the Lord.
(cf. Jn xv 16)
- 4 Es ii 10 Tell my people that I will give them the kingdom of Jerusalem, which I would have given unto Israel.
- Ap iii 11 4 Es ii 43 Upon every one of their heads he set crowns.

Is Fourth Esdras an Asiatic reply to the Apocalypse?

Ap iii
7—13

In the last section the resemblances are far too striking and numerous and continuous to be due to

¹ We must rather translate: 'like a dove (her young): strengthen their feet.'

anything but intention. Is not 4 Esdras a Jewish reply to the Christian Apocalypse? I think no one can compare the two consecutive passages together without being convinced that they belong to the same prophetic kind of literature, and tolerably sure that the writer of 4 Esdras i, ii, xv knew the Apocalypse. At the same time candour compels us to admit that in the address to the angel of the Church in Philadelphia taken by itself there is nothing that makes it certain that the author held that Jesus was the Christ. Every word of it might be uttered by Messiah, when sufficiently endowed with an objective existence to address His servants as their Lord. This statement, along with the question whether such objectivity could have become possible, will be considered later.

The number of parallelisms between 4 Esdras ii and Ap i—iii, xxii specially is remarkable; but there are not wanting references to the rest of Ap in the same chapter, viz. :—

- | | | |
|--------------|------------|--------------------------------------|
| Ap vii 3, 4 | 4 Es ii 38 | Arise up and stand, behold |
| xix 7, 9 | | the number of those that are sealed |
| | | in the feast of the Lord. |
| Ap xiv 1 ff. | 4 Es ii 42 | I Esdras saw upon Mount |
| Ap vii 9 | | Sion a great people whom I could |
| | | not number, and they all praised the |
| | | Lord with songs... |
| Ap vii 14 | 45 | So I asked the angel and said, Sir, |
| | | what are these? |
| Ap vii 9 | 45 | Now are they crowned and receive |
| | | palms. |

In 4 Esdras xv, xvi the following parallelisms occur:—

- Ap xxii 6 ff. 4 Es xv 1 Behold speak thou the words of prophecy, which I will put in thy mouth, saith the Lord, and cause them to be written in paper; for they are faithful and true.
- Ap vi 4—8 4 Es xv 5 I will bring plagues upon the world; the sword, famine, death and destruction.
- Ap vi 9, 10 4 Es xv 8 The innocent and righteous blood crieth unto me, and the souls of the just complain continually (cf. 4 Es iv 35 Did not the souls of the just ask question of these things in their chambers saying How long shall I hope (for) the mercy of GOD?... Uriel answered and said, Even (when the number of seeds is filled in you, or) when the number of those like you is fulfilled. The passage marks a common prophetic theme.)
- Ap viii 10 4 Es xv 13 Their seeds shall fail...with a fearful constellation.
- Ap viii 13 4 Es xv 14 Woe to the world and them that dwell therein.
- Ap vi 4 4 Es xv 15 One people shall stand up to fight against another, and swords in their hands.

Ap xxi 24 4 Es xv 20 I will call all the kings of
the earth to reverence Me.

Ap xiv 20 4 Es xv 35 Blood shall be from the
sword unto the horse's belly.

But I can see nothing Christian whatever in 4 Es xv, xvi. There is one passage which associates Asia with Rome and which recalls strongly the address to Esd xv 46 Thyatira. It seems to prove the Asiatic origin of 4 Es xv. It is this: 'And thou, Asia, that art partaker Ap ii 20 of the hope of (or joined in heart to the splendour of) Babylon, and art the glory of her person¹, woe be unto thee, thou wretch, because thou hast made thyself like unto her; and hast decked thy daughters in whoredom, that they might please and glory in thy lovers, which have always desired to commit whoredom with thee! Therefore, saith GOD, I will send plagues upon thee, widowhood, poverty, famine, sword, and pestilence, to waste thy houses with destruction and death.' The remark made above concerning the address to Philadelphia applies also to that to Thyatira, that it contains nothing indubitably and positively Christian, not even ii 27 b.

The Epistle of Barnabas is prophetic.

In passing from these Jewish prophetic writings to the Epistle of Barnabas we pass to a different point of view, but not a different atmosphere. Bishop

¹ Cf. what is said of Miletus in Herod. v. 28, 'the jewel of Ionia's crown.'

Lightfoot says 'the Epistle stands alone in the literature of the early Church¹.' Yet like every other writing since the world began it bears some relation to other works before and after it, if only we could determine what. He says, 'how the name of Barnabas came to be associated with it, it is impossible to say.' This observation was certainly not intended to check reasonable investigation, nor should it prevent us from concluding from the name and character of the work itself and from the considerations urged above that it claimed to be and was considered to be a prophetic work, written by a Christian Prophet, and since Barnabas means 'Son of Prophecy,' the name was most naturally and fitly associated with the work. Clement of Alexandria (200 A.D.) quotes it frequently and ascribes it to the 'Apostle' or 'Prophet Barnabas,' meaning St Paul's companion. In this he was probably wrong. But he was right in ascribing it to a Prophet. Its concluding chapters (18—21) are nearly identical with the first part of the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, which we have seen above to be eminently a prophetic work, dealing at length with rules for the conduct and treatment of Prophets. While it differs entirely from all Judaic explanations of Scripture, which it accuses the Jews of misunderstanding from beginning to end, it uses the Old Testament with what it means to be reverence, and especially it shews its prophetic origin by the quotation of Dan vii 7 ff., which it introduces thus: 'the

¹ *Apostolic Fathers*, p. 239.

last offence is at hand, concerning which the Scripture speaketh, as Enoch saith. For to this end the Master hath cut the seasons and the days short, that His beloved might hasten and come to His inheritance. And the Prophet also speaketh on this wise...Ye ought therefore to understand...Wherefore let us take heed in these last days. For the whole time of our faith shall profit us nothing, unless we now in the season of lawlessness and in the offences that shall be, offer resistance, as becometh sons of God, that the Black One may not effect an entrance.' We note the familiar accents of the Prophets: 'Ye ought to understand,' 'the last days,' 'lawlessness,' 'cut short their days,' 'for his beloved.'

Ap i 3,
ii 7, 11,
17, 29,
iii 6, 13,
22, xiii 9,
Mt xi 15,
xiii 9, 43,
xxiv 15,
Lk viii 8,
xiv 35,
Mk xiii 14
2 Th ii 7 f
Mt xxiv 12
Mt xxiv 22

The Epistle of Barnabas is not episcopal.

Another point worth noting about the Epistle of Barnabas is that it is free from the urgent precepts which mark Clement, Ignatius and other writers of the organised Church of that time so strongly, ordering submission to the presbyter and the bishop¹. The limits of date for 'Barnabas' are 70—132 A.D.: Lightfoot says 70—79. The writer addresses his readers as 'sons and daughters,' 'children of love and peace,' for a very simple reason, explained by Joel ii 20, 'your sons and your daughters shall prophesy.' He ignores Church organisation. He urges them to 'be good

¹ Clem. Cor. 21, 37, 42, 54, 57; Ign. Eph. 5, Mag. 6, Tral. 13, Phil. 4, 7, Smy. 8, 9, Pol. 6; Ep. of Polycarp, 5.

lawgivers one to another: to continue faithful counsellors to themselves: and prays that GOD may give them wisdom, judgment, learning, knowledge of His ordinances' (*δικαιωμάτων*), and finally that distinctive attribute of prophetic teaching (*ὑπομονήν*), 'patience.' This is a very different stamp of advice from that of Clement and Ignatius. This is the forerunner of free enquiry, and the right of private judgment, just as the others were the heralds of priestly domination. The two tendencies were combined in the Christian Church then, as they are combined in our Church now, nevertheless they are radically distinct and mutually exclusive. The Prophets and the Priests, whether Jewish or Christian, have always taken, and will always take, different roads to the same end.

'Barnabas' is at the same time the originator of that allegorical treatment of the Old Testament which has for so many centuries, ancient, mediæval, and even modern, affected all and dominated so many theological writers, especially writers on prophecy. He is the father of all Futurists, though he wrote no Apocalypse. In spite of the absurdities, bordering on the frivolous, which disfigure his pages, he did but carry on the same kind of speculation in natural science, transferred however to the branch of natural history, which we have already seen in the Celestial Physics of the Book of Enoch, of whose prophecy his was thus a lineal descendant.

CHAPTER V.

THE RELATION BETWEEN THE FOURTH GOSPEL AND THE APOCALYPSE.

THE Muratorian Fragment is thought by Bp Westcott to have a lacuna after the statement 'that John should describe everything in his own name.' It resumes after the gap with a sort of apology for the Fourth Gospel¹: 'And therefore, although divergent principles (*varia principia*) are taught in the several books, still this makes no difference to the faith of believers, seeing that by the one (and) dominant spirit there are declared in all of them all things that concern the nativity, the passion, the resurrection, the conversation with His disciples, and the two comings, the first in humility of contempt, which has taken place, the second in kingly power of glory, which is to be.' The Fragment seems to recognise again that the occasion of this Gospel was the opposition of two tendencies. I do not for a moment see that there is anything to shew they were those of Peter and Paul, but I venture to think that they were those of the

¹ For the original see p. 241, below.

Prophets on the one side, and the organizers of the Church on episcopal lines, represented by John the Evangelist or his bishops or both, on the other.

The following comparison of the doctrine of the Gospel and the Apocalypse does not profess to be exhaustive, but it may be adequate, in order to substantiate the contention that the Gospel was written for the principal purpose, if not indeed the one purpose subsidiary to that of Jn xx 31, of correcting ideas which the Apocalypse might suggest, and supplying some of its deficiencies. If it be true that 'the Synoptists and St John differ in the general impression which they convey as to the duration, the scene, the form, the substance of the Lord's teaching, and in regard to the circumstances in which they were composed¹,' the same is even more true of the Apocalypse and the Gospel. The comparison adds to the sense of the marvellously comprehensive character of the Gospel, but it does not dispose towards a belief in the identity of the two Johns.

(1)

Ap xix 13 ff. His name has been called the Word of GOD. The armed knight on the white charger, clothed in a garment sprinkled with blood, leading the hosts in heaven on white horses clothed in white, judges in righteousness, and makes war on kings and

Ap xix 18 Roman 'captains' and strong men and many more

¹ Westcott, *Intr. to Comm. on St John* lxxvii.

who are to be slaughtered and given to the fowls of the air, and this slaughter is 'GOD'S great supper.' The central figure of this bloodthirsty scene, with the sword proceeding out of his mouth, has (may it be said?) nothing whatever to do with Jesus of Nazareth. The word of GOD in question does indeed belong to the Most High (16), who ruleth in the kingdom of Dan ii 47 men and giveth it to whomsoever He will. John the Elder, in his savage hatred of Rome, foretells the fall of Rome in a series of bloody battles, which are overruled by the Word or Providence of GOD employing as always some human agent, and so far therefore representable under human shape. This is, however, not the Messiah coming to Judgment, for the Judgment is over. The Word goes forth in order to execute xii 10 ff one portion of the sentence of the Judgment. The picture is partly based on *Is lxiii* and *xi 4*, but chiefly on the sublime 'prayer and hymn of Habakkuk,' from Hab iii which the ideas are taken into this passage of *Ap* as follows: GOD (3), Word (5 *LXX*), wrath (8), light (4), lightning (11), go before (5), mounted on horses (8), crush the heathen (12), the abyss (10), beasts eating (17), powerful men (14), staff (9). There is not a sign or a trace of any Christian or Alexandrine notion of the Logos doctrine in the Apocalypse. But it might occur to a Christian of 85 A.D., that this passage was a stumbling-block to any believer in the Logos, in whatever form it was associated with Christian doctrine. It might seem to him utterly unworthy as a descrip-

tion, and dishonouring in point of teaching, and certain to mislead. Therefore the Evangelist has set the correction of it in the fore-front of his Gospel. In spite of the fact that to St John such an expression as 'the Word *of* GOD' was impossible, for the reason given in Jn i 1, the statement has been repeated again and again that Ap xix 13 *resembles* Jn i 1, 14. Those who have repeated it have ignored both the context in the Apocalypse, and the clear contrast between its vision (εἶδον, ἰδού) and the ocular and physical witness of ἐθεασάμεθα in Jn i 14.

Ap xix 11

(2)

The question whether GOD has ever been seen is one not uncommonly asked by the young, and is often answered in the affirmative with a reference to Ap iv 3 etc. The Evangelist is quick to supply the true answer by his remark in i 18. So again xiv 9.

(3)

The preeminence of Jews as a people for salvation is among the strongest features of Ap. In vii 4, 9 the countless multitude out of every *nation* and kindreds and peoples and tongues can hardly be 'one and the same body, Jewish Christians and Gentile Christians alike¹.' Hort says, 'As spoken of by the Angel, *heard* not seen, they may be described under

¹ Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, p. 162.

an exact ideal numeration as making up the ideal Israel: as seen by the Prophet they may be presented in accordance with external fact as a vast mixed multitude. But however this may be, the sealing of the 12 tribes cannot be recognised as a mark of Jewish exclusiveness.' This is a very strange statement, from which I must differ for these reasons: (1) The Prophet in verse 1 has said, 'I saw four angels': in verse 2 he has said, 'and I saw another angel ascend.' He was therefore endowed with sight of the vision at the time, and it is unnatural to suppose that he did not see the sealed ones of Israel, though it is natural to suppose that he could not count the exact number of each tribe and therefore he was told what it was. A few verses before, he even 'saw beneath the altar *the souls of*' the slain. Indeed 'I saw' and 'I heard' have been continually alternating throughout the previous chapter, vi 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12. Why then must we suppose that he did not see the twelve tribes? As a matter of fact he did not see 144,000 out of *every* tribe, for Dan is absent (see chap. VIII). As to the seeing of a vast number, and hearing what the exact number was, there is an exact parallel in ix 16. (2) If the Prophet heard them first numbered, and saw the separate sets of twelve, and then saw the multitude, 'which no man could number,' he must at least have known whether they were the same as the numbered ones or not, even if he could use the contradictory language.

Why then does he pretend in 14 that he does not know? (3) Is it to be supposed that the Elder who asks him thinks that John knows already, and only asks for the benefit of *the reader* of the Apocalypse? If so, why does he not say what they are? There is nothing to shew they are not circumcised Christians. (4) The Gentiles are treated throughout Ap as only on the verge of the covenant of GOD. They are allowed to contribute to the wealth of the New Jerusalem, through their kings. They are allowed to walk in the light of the city. They are allowed to be healed by the leaves of the tree. But everywhere else the Gentiles represent the world at enmity with GOD (xi 2, 9, 18, xii 5, xiii 7, xiv 6, 8, xvi 9, xvii 15 a terribly close resemblance to this verse, xviii 3, 23, xix 15, xx 3, 8). If such a treatment of the Gentiles is possible to any author who considered them on an equal footing with himself, it is hard to see what words can mean. If it be not admitted that Ap is intensely Jewish though Christian¹ from beginning to end, there is only one alternative, namely to hold that it is entirely Jewish, with not many Christian interpolations. The latter form of theory would be tenable: Harnack holds it. But the Evangelist loses no time in clearing the ground for his Gospel by the clear assertions in i 11—13. 'His own people did not accept Him as their own traditions

¹ Bousset agrees that the author was a Jewish Christian, *The Anti-christ Legend*, E. T. p. 210. See also p. 63, note, and p. 203 below.

led them to do (*παρέλαβον*), and those who received Him apart from tradition (*ἔλαβον*) were not of the XII tribes (*ἐξ αἱμάτων*), nor born of sensual desires (*ἐκ θελήματος σαρκός*), nor born by man's will at all (*ἐκ θελήματος ἀνδρός*), but were begotten of GOD. A more direct removal of Jewish exclusiveness can hardly be imagined, nor one more apposite to the sealing of the 12,000 twelve times, and its implication.

(4)

The remark upon John's Baptism, and what follows (i 15—17) seems to be greatly emphasised if there is any truth in what is said below concerning John's Baptism having been brought into Asia by the Elder (Chapter VIII).

(5)

Ap uses the strange term *ἀρνίον*, of which an explanation is offered in Chapter VIII. The only passage in which Jn uses it is xxi, but considering the great prominence given to the Lamb in Ap it seems quite natural that Jn should take an early opportunity of giving the actual testimony of John the Baptist, and he does so i 19—42, quoting the words Ἴδε ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, Behold the Lamb of GOD, which at once Jn i 29, 36 opens out all the train of sacrificial references in the Pentateuch, and many more, instead of the single passage in Jer xi 19, where alone the singular *ἀρνίον*

occurs except two more passages where it is used for 'lambs of the sheep.' Two other points occur at the same time: first that the Prophet John the Baptist disowned the idea of being the Messiah, and that of equality with Him: and next, that the true Lamb of GOD baptises with the Holy Spirit, not merely unto repentance, nor unto the seven spirits of Ap.

(6)

The title 'Son of Man' is found in Ap i 13, xiv 14 without even a construction (ὁμοιον υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου Chald. where LXX has ὡς). But there is no idea of his being a true *representative* of mankind. In the other places where 'sons' occur, they have no representative sense. We may fairly say therefore that not even in ii 18 has 'the Son of GOD' a representative sense, but the meaning is precisely that of i 13, of which description ii 18 is a fragment, like all the other fragments in the titles of the seven Epistles. Consequently before he ends his first chapter the Evangelist makes it quite plain that the unique Person with whom he has to deal is the one representative of GOD to man, and of man to GOD, for whom mankind was waiting: and at the same time that the vision of heaven opened, which the Seer had been privileged to enjoy by himself, was to be granted to mankind at large. Let me quote a passage of surpassing beauty in which, as in many others from

Ap ii 14,
vii 4, xxi
12, xii 5

Jn i 50, 51

Ap iv 1

the same pen, this figure of Jacob's ladder which the Evangelist offers has been applied to our present needs: 'It is precisely this *inequality of souls* which is the *positive awakener* of all our higher affections. No man could love or venerate in a universe stocked with mere repetitions of himself: the endless portrait would be a barren weariness. He pities what is below him in happiness: he reveres what is above him in excellence; he loves what is different from him in beauty. His affections rest on those whom he blesses and those who bless him—on his clients and his GOD. At the shock of lower lives and the startling spectacle of higher, he is driven to moral recoil and drawn to moral aspiration: in the one case invested with armour for the resistance of evil, in the other equipped with wings to soar after the good. Whatever is purer and nobler in another than in ourselves opens to us a new possibility, and wields over us a new authority; and thus it is that, ascending through the gradations of souls which culminate in Christ, we find ourselves carried thence at a bound over the chasm between finite and infinite, and present at the feet of the Most High, saying, "Just and true are Thy ways, Thou King of Saints; who shall not fear thee, O Lord, and glorify Thy name, for Thou only art holy¹!"

¹ James Martineau, "The Watch-night Lamps," *Essays, Reviews and Addresses*, vol. iv. p. 462.

(7)

Ap xix 9 He saith unto me, Write: Blessed are they who have been called unto the wedding-supper of the Lamb. And he saith unto me, These words are true (words) of GOD. And I fell before his feet to worship him. And he saith to me, See thou do it not: I am thy fellow-servant and of thy brethren that have the testimony of Jesus; worship GOD: for the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy.

The wedding-supper of the Lamb is not to be identified with 'GOD'S great supper' which is provided for the fowls of the air over the slaughtered armies of Rome and the rest in xix 18, though that immediately follows the text. Beyond this we are to look, to the new heavens and new earth, and the new Jerusalem prepared as a bride for her husband. Still it would be a puzzling arrangement for the average reader to know whether to identify the two suppers, both *δεῖπνα*, especially as the former or dreadful one is a more tangible supper than the latter, which is rather a feast of eyesight, and soul, than of pure water and fruits. It seems more and more plain that in xxi, xxii we have a double ending to the vision (see ch. VIII). But the average reader would again be perplexed here with the repetitions and variations of Ap.

Moreover the emphasis of xix 10, 'These words' &c. seems intended to shew that some definite words of Jesus, handed down by the prophetic school of

Ap xxi
2—7,
9—27, xxii
1—5

xxi
xxi 3, 27
xxii 1
xxii 2

John the Seer, are referred to. We may probably say that they are those of Lk v 34 f. which deal with the specially prophetic usage of fasting. The Prophets had recognised that the disciples of Jesus had not fasted; yet all true disciples of Prophets were bound to fast. Why was the exception? For the reason given. But the usage would be restored for the time between the first coming and the second. It would be broken at length in the marriage supper of the Lamb. The object of the Evangelist, as a *Jn ii 1 ff.* practical teacher, is to shew that Jesus, though a Prophet, had not been bound by the usage of the Prophets, and that when He performed His first sign, He who was the true Lamb of GOD, a *true Israelite*, was present at a wedding-feast at Cana, along with His disciples, who then and there were convinced and for the first time as a collective body, when they saw His glory, the fulness of His attributes in an earthly shape, believed on Him.

(8)

The view of the Apocalypse in 68—69 A.D. is that the Temple is to be preserved for the present, even *Ap xi 1* though the outer court be given to the heathen, that is, to be occupied by the Romans, while the two witnesses prophesy. By this outer court is meant not what we commonly call so, in which were the tables of the money-changers and those who sold doves, and *Mt xxi 12* which our Lord described as a den of thieves; but

the Temple platform, called by Josephus 'the so-called Cedron ravine,' which is quite distinct from the Valley of Jehoshaphat, called by Josephus simply 'Cedron'. The platform had a gentle slope towards the East, but formed an area some 500 yards long and 300 broad, containing the castle of Antonia in the middle of its western half touching its W. wall, and the Temple itself in its S.W. angle. The Romans did not occupy this until after the Apocalypse was written and within two months of the end of the siege. There was an ancient prophecy recorded in the oracles, Josephus tells us², that the city and the sanctuary would be taken when the Temple should become square. This was within John's knowledge. If the Romans held the outer court or Temple-platform (and much more of course if they held the court of Mt xxi 12) the Temple was doomed to fall. This the Seer recognises fully. He is told to measure it in order that the measurements of it may be contrasted with those of the New Jerusalem to come hereafter, which is also measured with a reed, but has no Temple in it.

But the Evangelist regards the Temple in a very different light. He was aware that its destruction had been foretold by the Lord, but the question of the fulfilment of that prophecy, much more any questions of measurement or size, were of less

¹ See Lewin, *The Siege of Jerusalem*, 1863, p. 442.

² *B. J.* vi 5, 4.

importance than the truth that the human body was a sanctuary of GOD, and imperishable; for it would be raised again in three days. This was the only 'sign' vouchsafed in answer to the question of the Jews, a sign of which the Disciples found the meaning after the resurrection had taken place, and ^{Jn ii 18—} the Jews never found at all. ₂₂

(9)

The kingdom of GOD is indeed treated by the Seer in one place as composed of men out of every tribe ^{Ap v 10} and tongue and people and nation, and they reign upon the earth. But there is nothing to shew that these are not all proselytes to Judaism, admitted by circumcision as the door¹ of the Christian Church. It is not clear to me that they are so, but the later passage ^{xii 10} certainly would not remove any doubt which the earlier might have suggested. It is a pure supposition to regard baptism as implied in either, especially in view of what we find elsewhere in Ap concerning baptism, and what is said of the sealed in vii. Now it is quite true that the Jews recognised some kind of regeneration or new birth necessary in order to proselytism, but this was very easily attainable. 'If any one become a proselyte, he is like a child new born².' The Evangelist, therefore, gives us the teaching of Jesus that for those who partake of the kingdom of

¹ See below, p. 102.

² Jevamoth 62, 1; Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* iii. 265.

Messiah, another kind of new birth is required beyond what they have as Israelites or proselytes. The stress
 Jn iii 5 upon 'water,' which certainly is that of baptism, is especially directed against Judaism, but may also be taken as an acceptance—so far as it goes—of the baptism referred to in Ap iii in such obscure language.

(10)

Ap xx 3 The Seer has made the strange assertion that the Serpent of olden time (ὁ ὄφις ὁ ἀρχαῖος) was bound, but must be released hereafter for a short time. I believe that this assertion will partly enable us to understand the very difficult passage in Jn iii 14. Undoubtedly the idea¹ there is wholly that of the power of evil, transfixed and slain by GOD, and so exhibited in triumph by Moses according to Divine command. As GOD has overcome, so can man by His power: and this the Son of Man did. *Dominus regnavit a ligno*. The Evangelist corrects the Seer in respect to the permission of the Power of evil to go loose even for a time. The victory is final and without exception. And everlasting life is not merely a future but a present gift for everyone that believeth on Him.

(11)

But it would seem as though he could hardly restrain his flow of dogmatic teaching at this point;

¹ For its relation to a widely extended body of folk-lore, see Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend*, E. T. by Keane, Introd.

as though the very idea of the Apocalypse as a sort of drama of the future Judgment roused his indignation ^{Ap xx 13} so that he must disburden his mind without more delay. I think Bp Westcott is right in assigning John iii 16—21 to the Evangelist himself, and not Jesus. 'The only-begotten Son of GOD' is to be the Name above all other names, in which all creation bows to GOD, and in which all mankind, the world,—which to the Seer is but a space of time, or a space to be ruled ^{Ap xi 15, xiii 8, xvii 8} over—is to be saved rather than judged, by men coming to the light, and by their making (*ποιεῖν*) the works of truth. There is to be no mere shifting and succession of phantasmagoric scenes, but a solid constructive work to be done by those who believe in GOD'S representative on earth.

(12)

Once more at the close of the same chapter the Evangelist breaks out into his own teaching. The ^{Jn iii 31—36} occasion of it is another mention of John's Baptism, ending with the announcement of John's own humble place and destiny as a forerunner. The explanation given below (Ch. VIII) will throw farther light upon these words, which would bear much less point if John's Baptism and ministration were in 90 A.D. wholly a thing of the past. This they probably were not; certainly not in 70 A.D., if those observations are correct. Again in John iii 31—36 the stress is laid on the present nature of life eternal, on faith

Ap xxii 16,
i 2

having its true object in one unique representative of GOD on earth, One that was to come, and did come, and was heard and seen by the writer, who bears testimony, even if unregarded, as true as that of the Prophets, and who enables the receiver of that testimony to set his seal to the fact that GOD is true: Such I believe to be the meaning of the passage, which in any case has several terms which point to the Apocalypse, without however resembling in the least the style and tone of the Seer, with whom the object of faith is the Providence of God rather than the Person of Jesus. The text as it stands is unsatisfactory, and though it will seem overbold, I venture to suggest that the present 3rd singular 'witnesseth that which he has seen and heard' is inappropriate of the Messiah as having *seen and heard* anything in heaven: but is appropriate of *the writer* of Jn i 14, 16, 1 Jn i 1. Either it is to be taken as above, or some transposition, as the documentary evidence shews, is required, and it might be¹: 'speaketh of the earth and witnesseth that (merely) which he has seen and heard, and no one receiveth his witness. He that cometh from heaven is above all: he that receiveth *his* witness (hath) set his seal to the fact that GOD is true.' This transposition is what seems to me far more probable, on every

Ap ii 13,
19, xiii 10,
xiv 12

¹ The text would then run as in the R. V. except that the clause 'he that cometh from heaven is above all' is transposed to follow verse 32. Then the reference of the words 'he that is of the earth' is not to the Baptist, nor to the Evangelist, but to the average human witness who is always liable to be discredited.

ground, but, as the text stands, we must try to make some sense of it, as I do not think has yet been done. If it be held that the text is justified by Jn viii 38, 40, xv 15, can the following words, 'and no one receiveth Christ's testimony,' be conceived to be spoken by Him? Already His disciples had believed on Him, Jn ii 11, and many had believed on His name, and He confidently expected the belief of others. ^{23, iii 15}

(13)

'The testimony of Jesus' in Ap is the testimony which Jesus gave, just as 'the word of GOD' is the word which GOD uttered. Nor will the usages permit of any other meaning in that book, such, for instance, as 'the witness borne to Jesus.' This the Evangelist seems clearly to recognise when he writes the long passage on testimony, beginning 'If I testify about myself.' Jesus claims once more a greater testimony than John's, although he has borne witness to the truth: because He bears a witness which He knows has been based first upon the witness of the Father, and next is continually confirmed by His works, and thirdly agrees with the Holy Scriptures, which point to Him. Moses himself wrote of Him. This fulness of Christian testimony was far from being entertained by the Seer. For instance, the hymn of praise in Ap xii speaks of the Accuser, who was persistent in accusations against the people of GOD ('our brethren'), Ap xii 10

but there is nothing there to shew that any besides Jews are the brethren who suffer and who conquer, though they may be Christian Jews. Not long afterwards they sing the song of Moses and of the Lamb. The whole scenery is Jewish. But the Evangelist has put into the mouth of Jesus the overwhelming condemnation of the Jews as a people, that their Accuser is Moses himself; for had they believed Moses, they would have believed Him.

(14)

The hidden manna in Ap ii 17 has been already mentioned. The eating of it is a *future* reward for him that overcometh, which is intended to be realised hereafter in the wedding-supper of the Lamb. 'The Lamb,' although of course used with a sacrificial meaning, is not in any sense, I think, intended by the Seer to take over the associations of the Jewish Passover to the Christian eucharist, but only to prolong those old associations inside the Christian Church. The Lamb is Messiah as fulfilling the Old Testament prophecies of the Suffering Servant, the Lion's Whelp, the Judge of His people, and Shiloh; but there is nothing to connect Him with the Eucharistic feast. There is no mention even of the Agapê, as there is in Jude and 2 Peter. It is just as important to note where the Seer stops in his identification as to note how far he goes. To the Evangelist his teaching would seem most inadequate. He therefore

sets forth some very plain countervailing truths in vi 22—71. ‘Moses gave you not the bread from heaven.’ ‘Your fathers ate in the wilderness the manna and are dead.’ ‘The bread which I will give is my flesh.’ ‘The spirit is that which quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing.’ ‘I am the bread which came down from heaven.’ ‘The Son of Man was sealed by the Father, GOD,’ not as those in Ap vii 3 for exemption from injury, but in order that He may give His flesh for the life of the world. At the same time the Evangelist gives us a paradox of the Lord to harmonise the relation of works to faith. ‘This is the work of GOD, that you have faith on Him whom He sent forth.’ Now the Seer is almost as much inclined to insist on works as he is disinclined to recognise the Pauline value of faith.

Ap ii, iii
often, xiv
13, xxii 12,
11

(15)

In vii 37 ff. the Evangelist is more than usually severe upon the Seer and Ap xxii 17. The Spirit, i.e. of Prophecy, and the Bride say almost the very syllables of Jesus. Yet the Evangelist goes on to assert that ‘the Spirit was not yet (given) because Jesus was not yet glorified.’ The assertion implies that the Spirit of Prophecy did not exist at the time when Jesus spoke the words. *Now it is quite inconceivable that, if the Evangelist were the Seer grown older, he could write this.* Lightfoot¹ says ‘These

¹ *Hor. Heb. ad loc.*

words have relation to that most received opinion of the Jews' (it was not the only opinion) 'about the departure of the Holy Spirit after the death of Zechariah and Malachi.' But other Jews would agree with the Son of Sirach for instance, who says thus of his belief in his own inspiration (190—180 B.C.): 'I also came out as a brook from a river, and as a conduit into a garden. I said, I will water my best garden, and will water abundantly my garden bed: and lo, my brook became a river, and my river became a sea. I will yet make doctrine to shine as the morning, and will send forth her light afar off. I will yet pour out doctrine as prophecy, and leave it to all ages for ever¹.' Such too was the belief of the Prophets since Malachi, including the Christian Prophets: they did not place themselves on the same level as the Scriptural Prophets, whose writings they could not honour too much by incessant quotations, combinations, and imitations. But they were 'gleaners after the grape-gatherers, and by the blessing of the Lord they attained, and filled their wine-press like a gatherer of grapes.' The contemptuous saying of the Jews to Nicodemus, which receives no answer: 'Out of Galilee ariseth no prophet,' does not perhaps affect the Evangelist's own view of Jesus as a Prophet, but neither does it argue any desire on Jesus' part to claim his own position as a Prophet. The effect left on the reader's mind by the Evangel-

Ecclus
xxxiii 16

¹ Ecclus xxiv 30—33; see Sanday, *Inspiration*, p. 259.

ist's account is again somewhat derogatory to the Jn vii 45 ff. Prophets, especially since just before Jesus had cried 37 f. aloud like a Prophet and uttered a prophetic quotation. The assertion that 'the Spirit was not yet (given)' is so contradictory to the words of Jesus that vi 63 it must always rest under a cloud of suspicion, as to whether it be even genuine.

(16)

The Seer said 'He that overcometh shall not be Ap ii 11 hurt of the second death.' The Evangelist goes much further when he gives us the words of Jesus: 'He that keepeth my word shall not behold death for Jn viii 51 ever.'

(17)

The beautiful and suggestive passage: 'Behold I stand at the door and knock' has received a correction Ap iii 20 from the Evangelist in the less picturesque statement of Jn x 9. The whole parable is inserted by way of comment on the Prophetic teaching, in which, as in Ezekiel, Psalms, and the latter part of the Book of Enoch the chosen people are sheep. Its insertion was rendered the more needful by the repetition in Ap ii 27, xii 5, xix 15 (where the R.V. throughout loses the sense by translating 'rule' instead of 'shepherd') of the remorseless idea of Ps ii from which it quotes. So also in Jn xxi 16 we may see the abolition of the rod of iron. 'The door' is especially to be

understood in Jn x 9 in connection with the 'door of faith' by which the entrance into the Christian church was secured by the grace of GOD and the Acts xiv 27 ministry and labours of St Paul. The idea of Jews and many Jewish Christians was that circumcision was the one door by which to enter the covenant and church of GOD. Had it been maintained, it is impossible to see how Christianity could ever have become anything more than a Jewish sect. When Christ Jesus proclaimed 'I am the door' and so opened the faith-door into the Church and Covenant of GOD, he interpreted life and all visible things in the spirit of a Trust in the ascendancy of Divine Thought and Affection in the universe, of a strong and serene confidence in their perfect victory. 'To raise the minds oppressed by the sense of material necessity; to meet the tendencies towards passiveness and despair, and for the consolation of memory and the kindling of hope, to show where the order, not of a hard mechanism, but of beauty, love, and goodness is enthroned; this also is the duty of a Church. In this relation we must contradict the doctrine of mere science, which proclaims Force, rather than Thought, as the source of all: we must counteract its purely causal and fatalistic explanations; must detain in the living present' (with the Evangelist) 'that GOD whom it would allow to recede indefinitely into the past' (or into the future, with the Seer), 'and must lean upon him as the nearest to us in our weakness, the most

loving in our sadness, and the Rock beneath our feet in our alarms. We agree together to sustain each other in this sacred trust; to withstand the godless doubts and grievings suggested by our lower mind; to defy nature's inexorable laws to disguise for us the supernatural light and love within; and to feel the hardest matter of life, as well as the severest work of conscience, burning at heart with His dear spirit¹.

(18)

The distinction between *πλύνειν* to wash, of inanimate objects, *νίπτειν* to cleanse, to wash part of a body, and *λούειν* to bathe or wash the whole of a body, has not been maintained throughout by R.V. In Ap vii 14, xxii 14 we have 'washed their robes,' but the other two words are not used in Ap, for the reading in i 5 is 'loosed us from our sins.' Now the Evangelist, who alone supplies us with the account of the feet-washing, greatly extends the symbolic idea Jn xiii 1 ff. of washing. It is not that we may appear righteous before GOD, but that we may be actually made righteous by and in Christ, that He has 'given us an example.' 'He that is bathed needeth not to cleanse himself, but is clean every whit.'

(19)

The Apocalypse is not the only book in which the disciples of Christ are described or describe them-

¹ J. Martineau, *Essays and Addresses*, vol. iv. p. 461.

selves as 'slaves.' The term is of course as much St Paul's as any one's, when he speaks of himself. He resembles the Prophets in making special use of it. They are called *δοῦλοι* Ap i 1, ii 20, x 7, xi 18, xv 3, xix 2, 5, xxii 6, that is in the vast majority of cases where it occurs at all in the Apocalypse. The term was loved by the Prophets because it was specially applied to Moses, who was the first of Prophets, according to Numb xii 6 f. 'If there be a Prophet among you, I the Lord will make myself known unto him in a vision, and will speak unto him in a dream. My servant Moses is not so (as you rebels are), who is faithful in all mine house. With him will I speak mouth to mouth...' But the LXX preferred in the case of the great Lawgiver to turn the Heb עֶבֶר by *θεράπων* rather than the more humble *δοῦλος*. It is only another instance of the direct use of the Heb by John the Seer that he uses *δοῦλος* even of Moses, and never *θεράπων*. On the other hand the writer to the Hebrews never uses *δοῦλος*, *δουλεύειν*, and only *δουλεία*

Hebr ii 15 once, in connection with the fear of death, while he calls Moses *θεράπων*, in a passage where he also makes a great advance towards the standpoint of the Evangelist. St John offers the strongest contrast to the Seer, when he gives the definite abrogation of the term *δοῦλοι* in the words of the Master himself for all Disciples of Christ. Still the title which they apply to Him continues as before to be 'the Lord.'

Jn xv 15

(20)

Finally a word must be said concerning the use of O.T. prophecy by the Evangelist, for instance in Jn xii. He seems to remind his readers and those of Ap vii 9 that the descendants of the Twelve Tribes in a great and triumphant crowd had borne palms once before, and they had shouted with a loud voice Jn xii 12 Hosanna, salvation, in similar strains to those of the Seer, who I cannot doubt had in his mind the picture Ps cxviii 25 f. of the entry into Jerusalem, though in his hymn 'the Lamb' is substituted for 'the King of Israel.' The one account is Prophecy based on history; the other is actual history. We may compare the Prophetic treatment of the Epiphany in xii 1 ff. But the Evangelist proceeds to show that these men of the Twelve Tribes had soon afterwards failed to understand the other O.T. Prophecy of Zech ix 9, which they unconsciously helped to fulfil by inflicting the humiliating death of the Cross. On the other hand the Evangelist is quite willing to adopt the Seer's rendering and reading¹ of the Hebrew of Zech xii 10, Jn xix 37 which illustrates his own experience at the Cross. So far therefore from Israel maintaining its high position and prerogative in producing the Messiah (iv 22 where the meaning is that salvation proceeds, starts from,

¹ Who can tell whether this was not one of the most potent and moving causes of the conversion of the Seer to the belief that Jesus was indeed the Christ? For the reading see C. Taylor, *The Gospel in the Law*, pp. 312, 313.

the Jews) they had forfeited it as a people and had no longer any preeminence or priority of choice for it.

Jn xii 38 This is in exact fulfilment, says the Evangelist, of
Is liii 1 Isaiah's prophecy, and the reason of it is foretold by
Is vi 10 the same Prophet. Thus Prophecy had foretold its own unavailing effect upon an unbelieving people, who had now to learn the lesson of History in the long fulfilment of the purpose of GOD.

CHAPTER VI.

THE SEER DISCOVERED IN HIS WRITINGS.

Papias's clear statement about two Johns.

THE result of the foregoing comparison of the ideas and expressions of the Apocalypse with those of the Fourth Gospel is to throw us on the necessity of finding some other John who can have written the former. Nor have we very far to seek. Eusebius says :

“There are said to be five books of Papias, which *HE* iii 39 bear the title ‘Of the Exposition of the Lord’s oracles.’ But Papias himself in the preface to his treatises by no means asserts that he had been a hearer and eyewitness of the holy apostles, but informs us that he had received the (doctrines) of the faith from their intimate friends, by means of his remarks (which are these) :

“‘But I will not scruple to give you also, in a parallel arrangement along with my interpretations, all the sayings that I carefully learned in time past from the Elders and carefully remembered, guarantee-

ing that they are true. For unlike the many I did not take pleasure in those who have so very much to say, but in those who teach the truth; nor in those who relate foreign commandments, but in those (who record) such as had been given from the Lord to the faith, and are derived from the truth itself. And again if perchance there came one who had been a follower of the Elders, I would enquire about the discourses of the Elders—what had been said by Andrew or by Peter, or by Philip, or by Thomas, or James: or by John or Matthew or any other of the Lord's disciples: and what Aristion and the Elder John the Lord's disciples say. For I did not think I could get so much profit from the extracts (or inferences) from the books as from the utterances of a living and abiding voice.'

"Here it is also important to observe that he twice mentions the name of John. The former John he puts in the same list with Peter and James and Matthew and the other Apostles, clearly intending the Evangelist; but the second John he mentions after an interval, and ranks with others outside the Apostles, putting Aristion before him, and he distinctly calls him Elder; so that further by these facts the account of those is proved true who have stated that two persons in Asia had the same name, and that there were two tombs in Ephesus, each of which even to their time bore the name of John. Now these statements require attention. For it is probable that

the second, unless we chose (to say) the first, was the Seer of the Apocalypse which is current in the name of John. And further the Papias now referred to acknowledges that he had received the discourses of the Apostles from those who had been their followers, but says that he himself had been an immediate hearer of Aristion and of the Elder John. Certainly he mentions them often by name in his treatises, recording their traditions. I trust it may not have been amiss to say this much."

Eusebius has said quite enough to put us on the track. He has observed shortly before "Now of the writings of John, the former of his Epistles also is acknowledged as beyond question alike among our contemporaries and among the ancients, while the remaining two are disputed. But respecting the Apocalypse opinions are drawn in either direction (i.e. between the Elder and the Apostle), even to the present day with most men. But we shall in due time give a judgment on this point also from the testimony of the ancients." In his next chapter he deals with the holy scriptures which are acknowledged and those which are not. First he names 'the holy quaternion' of the Gospels, Acts, Pauline Epistles, 1 John, 1 Peter. "After these are to be placed, if it seem right (εἴγε φανεῖν), the Revelation of John, about which we shall offer the opinions held, in due time. These then are acknowledged as genuine. Among the disputed books, although they are well known and H E iii 24

approved by many, is reputed the so-called Epistle of James and that of Jude, also the second Epistle of Peter and the so-named Second and Third of John, whether they are of the Evangelist or else of another man of the same name. Among the spurious must be numbered both the writing of the Acts of Paul, and the so-called Shepherd, and the Apocalypse of Peter. And besides these the reputed Epistle of Barnabas, and the so-called Teachings of the Apostles¹: and moreover, as I said before, the Apocalypse of John, if it should appear right (εἰ φανεῖν), which some, as I said, reject, but others rank among the acknowledged (books)."

Dionysius of Alexandria, and the value of his testimony.

Not till we reach the latter part of his seventh book do we find any satisfactory fulfilment of these promises of Eusebius, though we twice have Irenæus's testimony, which will be considered later. Eusebius is properly impressed with the varied activity, unusual learning, and acute criticism of the great bishop of Alexandria, Dionysius, (died 265), and he has preserved for us some extracts from his writings of the highest possible interest. Dionysius was a worthy pupil of his master Origen, an exile like him for the

¹ The way in which these two works are classed together is some confirmation of their common reputation in Eusebius' time or mind as prophetic writings.

truth's sake, a peace-maker, a student, gentle, wise, and charitable. Let it be granted that in his zeal against Sabellius he carried the doctrine of Subordination so far that he was afterwards accused by Basil of having sown the seeds of Arianism, he will be for ever memorable as the first of the higher critics. But what makes his criticism on the Apocalypse important above others is that his lot was cast in a time of plague, war, massacre, and famine, such as nearly recalled the time of the sacred book itself. The head of a church who had passed through these calamities in his own experience would be the last person to make light of the work which described them as judgments of God. He writes thus :

“To the rest of mankind the present may not seem a fit season to keep a festival. Nor indeed is the present (probably 261 A.D.) or any other time which they may consider most joyous, a season of festival to the heathen, not only to those among them who are very sad, but to any of them, however jovial he may be. Now at any rate all things are full of wailing, all are mourning, the city resounds with groaning, on account of the multitude of dead, and of those who are dying daily. As the Scripture says of the first-born of Egypt, so now, there is heard ‘a great cry,’ for there is not a house in which there is not one dead ; and would there were only one !

“Great and terrible were the calamities which befell us before this visitation. First the heathen

drove us away ; and yet we were the only persons who, though we were persecuted and killed, kept festival even then (it was Easter) ; and every place of our affliction, whether it was in the country or the wilderness, or on shipboard or inn, or prison, became to us a place of joyful assembly.

Eus. vii 22

“ After this War and Famine visited us, which we shared with the heathen ; but we suffered alone the evils which they inflicted upon us. And yet we were made joyful by the Peace of Christ, which He gave to us alone. When we had had a very short respite, this Pestilence broke in upon us, which caused a period more terrible than any to them, and more grievous than any affliction, and, as one of their own histories related, far beyond the apprehension of anyone. But it was not such to us, but rather an extraordinary test and exercise. It did not spare us, and it violently assailed the heathen. Most of our brethren took no care of themselves, but clave earnestly to one another, visiting the sick ; they lovingly ministered to them, and took care of them in Christ, and joyfully died with them, having caught the infection from them... The heathen behaved in a totally different manner. They thrust out of doors those who had begun to fall sick : and they fled from their dearest friends, and threw them down half dead in the streets, and cast the dead away unburied as dung, shrinking from the interchange or communion of death with them ; which, however, it was not easy for them to escape.”

Elsewhere Dionysius says of the state of his diocese: "It would be more easy to travel from east Eus vii 21 to west than to go from Alexandria to Alexandria itself. The heart of the city is more desert and impassable than the trackless desert....Our harbours often appear like the Red Sea from the frequent slaughters committed in them. The river too is always polluted with blood and slaughter."

Of controversy he says: "In many other respects I accord with and greatly love Nepos, both for his faith and industry, and for his great study in the Scriptures; as also for his great attention to psalmody, by which many are still delighted. I greatly reverence the man also, for the manner in which he has departed this life. But the truth is to be loved and honoured above all. It is just, indeed, that we should applaud and approve whatever is said aright, but it is also a duty to examine and correct whatever may not appear to be written with sufficient soundness." What could be better¹?

¹ Zahn says severely (*Einkl.* p. 616), 'The assertion of Dionysius that the Apocalypse contains not a syllable in common with the Gospel and 1 John was a silly exaggeration.' So it might have been, but Dionysius says, 'Very different from and strange to these (expressions which occur frequently (*πολλήν, πολύ*) both in the Gospel and 1 John) is the Apocalypse, neither touching nor bordering upon any of them, almost, having pretty well not a syllable in common with them,' i.e. with the *peculiarities common to Jn and 1 Jn*. This is quite another story. Not only does Eus vii 25 Zahn ignore the qualifying words *σχεδόν, ὥς εἰπεῖν*, the latter being as every scholar knows the regular way of qualifying any round statement, *πάντας ὥς εἰπεῖν, ἑκατὸν ὥς εἰπεῖν*, but the term 'silly exaggeration' is not justified by the facts of the case, as I hope to shew.

Dionysius's conclusions on the Authorship of Ap.

This then is the man who in his work 'On the Promises,' in reply to the Egyptian Bishop Nepos, had occasion to discuss the Apocalypse and does so "in exactly the right spirit, at once devout and critical, in which such questions ought to be treated : and the result is that he sweeps away the bad arguments against St John's authorship, and states the good ones in a form that has really never been improved upon between his day and ours¹." His chief points may be summarised thus. The Apocalypse is the work of a holy and inspired man, but not the son of Zebedee, for three reasons : the temper of the writers, their style of language, their purport. John and 1 John contain no name of the writer: Ap does. 2 and 3 John give 'the Elder' without name. Ap does not say 'whom Jesus loved,' 'who lay on Jesus' breast,' 'brother of James,' 'eyewitness of the Lord' &c. It does say 'brother and fellow-partaker,' 'witness of Jesus,' 'blessed in the revelations.' I suppose there were many Johns called after John the Apostle. There is one in Acts, John Mark. I would not say whether he is the writer. Acts xiii 13 is rather

Ap i 1, 4,
9, xxii 8

¹ W. H. Simcox, *The Revelation of St John*, Introd. xviii. Mr Simcox has translated the whole passage on the subject, and I therefore need not do so. His useful little commentary should be in the hands of every reader of the Apocalypse. It is sound and sensible and makes for the right end, although it is rather tentative, and in one passage after another it leaves us in a state of general equilibrium.

against it. But I think there was some other of those who lived in Asia; for in fact they say there are two tombs at Ephesus, each called that of John¹. And further from their thoughts, language, and composition. While Jn i 1 harmonises with 1 Jn i 1, and Jn i 14 with 1 Jn i 1, iv 3, i 3, Ap differs. The Evangelist “keeps close to himself, and does not depart from his purposes, and sets forth all by means of the same headings, but treats his subject throughout by the use of the same leading titles and terms (διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν κεφαλαίων καὶ ὀνομάτων πάντα διεξέρχεται), of which we will briefly mention some. He who studies the books carefully will find the following terms occur in Jn and 1 Jn either: *the life* frequently, *the light* frequently; opposed to *the darkness*; continually *the truth*, *the grace*, *the joy*, *the flesh and blood of the Lord*, *the judgment*, *the forgiveness of sins*, *the love of God towards us*, *the commandment for us to love one another* to be guarded as a summary of all the commandments², *the conviction of*

See i 14,
xx 31 &c.

¹ Prof. Ramsay, *Hist. Geog. of Asia Minor*, p. 110, reminds us that the modern name of Ephesus, Ayasaluk, has nothing to do with St Luke, but is Ayo-thológo, for Ἅγιος Θεολόγος. ‘The name Theologos is known to have been used both in Byzantine writers, conformably to the habit of naming towns according to the chief church in them, and also in early Turkish times, for coins of an early Turkish chief are known with the Latin legend, *Moneta que fit in Theologo*.’ I am not sure that this observation has not a much wider and more conclusive bearing on the authorship of the Fourth Gospel than has been thought.

² The true reading here I believe to be τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἡμᾶς ἀγάπης ἐντολὴν ὡς πάσας δεῖν φυλάσσειν τὰς ἐντολάς· not δεῖ. The point is one and not, as Mr Simcox makes it, two. The duty of keeping *all* the commandments is a *vox nihili*. The idea is refuted in Romans

the world, of the devil (, of) Antichrist, the promise of the Holy Ghost, the adoption by God as sons, the belief demanded of us throughout, the Father and the Son everywhere: and altogether by every possible mark we are allowed to see one and the same colouring in the Gospel and the Epistle. But compared with these (common features of Jn and 1 Jn) the Revelation is utterly different and strange, neither touching nor approaching (one may almost say) any of them, having hardly a syllable in common with them. Nor again has either the Epistle (I pass over the Gospel) any recollection or thought of the Revelation, nor it of the Epistle: whereas Paul in his Epistles has given some hint of his revelations, though he did not write them separately¹." He goes on to the difference of language: "Jn and 1 Jn are written, not only without stumbling in the Greek language, but with the greatest literary skill in the world, the reasonings, the arrangements of the interpretation: far from there being any barbarous word, ungrammatical phrase (σολοικισμόν), or in fact vulgarity (ιδιωτισμόν) of any sort found there. For he had, as it seems, both forms of the Word, the Lord having granted him both, the word of Knowledge and that of Expression. But this author—I will not deny that he had seen a revelation, and received knowledge and prophecy; but I see that and Mt xix 20 and elsewhere. What Dionysius refers to is such places as Jn xiv 15—21, xv 10 ff., 1 Jn ii 3—11, iii 23 f. v 2 f.—the idea of Rom xiii 10.

¹ Dionysius quoted by Eusebius. See Simcox, *loc. cit.*

his dialect and language are not correct Greek, but that he uses barbarous constructions, and is sometimes even ungrammatical. These I need not now recount; for I do not say this for ridicule—let no man think so—but only in criticism of the unlikeness of the writings.”

Criticism of Dionysius's criticism.

The criticism is sufficient if not exhaustive, but so long as preconceived ideas as to the identity of authorship are allowed to rule, it will fall unheeded. Mr Simcox has done well to submit it to an interesting analysis of his own under all its 18 heads. He is fair in his analysis, but not quite so in his conclusions. He inserts all sorts of modifications, which partly bridge over the gulf between the two authors: in fact he follows the commentators who for so many centuries have thought it their duty to do as much *coagmentation* as possible, to harmonise and conciliate, as if the body of Christian doctrine could not take care of itself, while justice was done to the individuality of the writers and their several experiences. This however is to ‘break down all the carved work thereof with axes and hammers.’ When Dionysius says ‘the life’ he means ‘the life’ and not (the Book of) Life &c., expressions in which the term is used adjectivally. He means the absolute eternal life.

Now Dionysius has made allowance for abatements when he said ‘one may say’ and ‘hardly,’ and

there are possibly eight abatements to be made to his criticism. (1) *Grace* does occur in Ap i 4, xxii 21, that is at the usual epistolary opening and close. Civility could say no less about it; John has said no more. Dionysius however said *The Grace*. (2) *Judgment* does occur four times in Apocalypse. Twice of these times it is plural, and twice it is 'of Thee' and 'of Him.' Dionysius should have said the nature of the Divine judgment is conceived in a totally different way in the different books. So it is. (3) *The Forgiveness of sins* (substantive) occurs nowhere in Jn, 1 Jn, Ap. Dionysius should have said 'To forgive sins.' (4) *The world* is used by Dionysius in an ethical sense. He should have said so, and then his remark would stand. (5) *The devil* does occur five times in Ap, but always as a very concrete figure, sometimes in company with other evil figures, and in a very different sense from Jn viii 44, xiii 2, 1 Jn iii 8, 10, where he is the author of all evil. (6) *Antichrist* does not occur in Jn nor in Ap. This is an error of Dionysius, if the term be taken in the usual sense, but I have no doubt he means the term to be taken with *the Devil*. Now we note that *the Devil as the strict actual counterfeit of Messiah* does not occur in Ap, which uses 'the Dragon,' 'the Beast,' 'the False Prophet,' instead. The passages are ii 10, xii 9, 12, xx 2, 10. (7) *Our adoption by God as sons*. Dionysius has used the Pauline compound *υιοθεσία* for brevity. He

refers to such places as Jn xii 36, i 12, xi 52, 1 Jn iii 1, 2, 10, v 2. The point is that this *present* adoption as children (τέκνα) is not found in Ap; which is true, for in Ap xxi 7 the O.T. words have only the old future meaning. (8) *The faith which is demanded of us throughout* is not merely 'faith,' 'the faith of the saints,' 'the faith of Jesus,' which occurs four times in Ap ii 13, 19, xiii 10, xiv 12, 1 Jn v 4, 5. The noun 'faith' does not occur in the Gospel; the verb 'to believe' does not occur in Ap. Dionysius should have used the verb, to express his meaning clearly.

On the whole therefore so far from his criticism 'resolving itself mainly into a difference of language,' it may be claimed for him that it is absolutely in accordance with what he represented it to be. The eight abatements shrink into six, which would have shrunk to none at all, had the summary not been put with excessive brevity. None of them is too great for the critic's saving clauses.

The date of Apocalypse—is it the time of Domitian?

Mr Simcox, like many others, speaks of the 'strong external evidence of unity' of authorship. "It is a very extreme measure to set aside contemporary evidence to the authorship of a book: especially of a book ascribed to an author who had been prominent and universally known among the community who

received the book as his." Yes, but who ascribed it? Contemporary evidence there is none external to the book itself. Hardly a book in the Bible has such evidence. Did the readers of A.D. 70—Mr Simcox has given us 68—70 as the most probable date of its composition—ascribe it to the Apostle? Until evidence is produced that they did so, and until it has been carefully sifted, we may say no more of contemporary evidence. Mr Simcox himself rejects Irenæus. "There is only one well-attested statement that we are obliged to reject—that of St Irenæus about the date." If we reject his date, we may as well reject his view of the authorship, and this decidedly we should do.

Mr Simcox goes on to make what seems a valuable suggestion in itself, whether it serve or not to account for Irenæus's date of 95 for the Apocalypse, without supposing it a mere blunder. He says: "As exile was not a penalty often inflicted in Nero's persecution, but was in Domitian's, Irenæus may have assumed that St John's exile took place at the same time as that of other confessors. Or is it possible that (John) was condemned by Domitian, or at least in his name, in the beginning of 70, when he, after the victory of Vespasian's army, was the only member of the new imperial family at Rome, and enjoyed the titular office of city prætor?" Now Tacitus says that Domitian assumed that office on Jan. 1, 70, having a few days before been raised to the title and resi-

dence of Cæsar¹. His name was put at the head of despatches and edicts, but the real authority was in the hands of Mucianus, with the exception that Domitian ventured on several acts of power at the instigation of his friends, or at his own caprice, so much so that his father, Vespasian², said, 'I wonder he does not send out a successor to me too!' Meanwhile the latter was at Alexandria, where he had been arranging the plan of operations for Titus in Judæa, and for his own embarkation of troops for Italy. He had time to decline the offer of Vologeses, king of Parthia, of 40,000 horsemen for the Jewish campaign. The expectation of some such force is referred to in Ap ix 15 ff. though not perhaps as allies of the Roman power: 'Yet not the earthly horsemen of the Arsacids, with their coats of mail, silken banners, and kettle-drums; it is their image in heaven that John sees' (Hausrath). Perhaps also Ap xvi 12. Vespasian also had time to become nervous, both on account of the debauchery of Domitian at Rome, and of rumours of attempted usurpation of the throne. He probably gave him three or four months to amuse himself before he reached Rome³.

¹ Tac. *Hist.* iv 2, 11.

² Suetonius, *Dom.* 1.

³ Tac. *Hist.* iv 81, Vespasian was waiting for summer breezes and settled weather on the sea. Schürer says that Chambalu's statement that he arrived in Rome as late as October 70 must certainly be adopted. Domitian ruled then for 9 months, a period long enough to justify one term of Irenæus' statement that Ap 'was seen not so long ago at the end of the rule of Domitian.'

What therefore seems possible is that the youthful Domitian, who 'even in those early days gave a clear foretaste of himself¹', should have taken an early opportunity of signing a despatch for the banishment of a hated Jew, whose kinsmen were still detaining his father and brother in the tough struggle in Judæa. To be able on the Palatine with a pen to strike a blow, however small, for empire, for the supremacy of Rome, as understood by Cæsar Domitian, would be something. Let us see how the opportunity would arise.

The Emperor-worship in Asia.

Asia, as we have already seen from Esdras², was the darling of Rome. Wealthy, bright, populous, emotional, artistic, wonder-working, easygoing, it added to all its charms the solid virtue in Roman eyes of loyalty. In no quarter of the empire was there so ready a disposition to worship the emperor, nor so simple an apparatus for securing it. The diet or confederation of neighbouring towns had existed at least since the time of Antigonus. The nine towns of the Troad, the 13 Ionic cities, and many other diets (*συνέδρια, κοινά*) developed themselves as the simplest units or organs of provincial government from the time of Augustus in those parts. As early as 29 B.C., for instance, he allowed the diets of Asia and

¹ Suetonius, *ib.*

² See above, p. 77.

Bithynia to erect temples and shew divine honour to him at their places of assembly, Pergamus and Nicomedia¹. The high priest of the new temple was appointed year by year, and he was the most eminent dignitary in the province. To him it fell to celebrate the festivals and games which vied with the old Olympian festival, and doubtless far surpassed it in every kind of pomp, the more so as they were now associated with the provincial worship of the emperor. As president of these he was called Asiarch, and he required to be a rich man to fulfil the duties. The cities were proud of possessing Asiarchs, and in their anxiety to possess more they were induced to increase the number of their temples and their festivals. In 23 A.D. Asia decreed another temple to Tiberius, and, after long quarrelling of the cities, the site was allowed by the Roman Senate to Smyrna. Throughout the province of Asia the Asiarch and the Asiarchess², his wife, took a zealous part in providing the festival annexed to the divine worship of the emperor and his predecessors.

By 15 B.C. all the chief places of judicial circuit had their Cæsareum and their emperors' festival. It is probable, says Mommsen, that the Asiarchs ex-

¹ See Mommsen, *Provinces of the Roman Empire*, E. T. i. p. 344.

² Is this the 'Jezebel' of Ap ii 20 if we do not read *σου*? Zahn reads 'thy wife' (*Einkl.* p. 608) pointing out the clumsiness of saying 'the woman Jezebel,' which 'the king Herod,' Mk vi 14, would not support. He understands the 'Angel' to be troubled and overmatched with a Nicolaitan and profligate wife, WH omit *σου*.

tended their superintendence, beyond the festival and the emperor-worship, to the affairs of religion in general. These priests were by their traditions and their official duties far more than the imperial magistrates inclined to note any neglect of the recognised worships, and where dissuasion did not avail, as they had not themselves a power of punishment, to bring the offence to the notice of the local or imperial authorities, and to invoke the aid of the secular arm—above all to bring the Christians face to face with the imperial cultus.

*The Seer's protest against Emperor-worship in
Apocalypse xvii an act of treason.*

Now let us suppose that a well-known Christian residing in Ephesus had fanned the same flame of rancour and hatred against himself that St Paul had aroused about ten years before, by his attacks upon idolatrous Jews and heathens: that instead of having Asiarchs on his side as St Paul had, he had them against him: that he found Demetrius and his gang much the same as before: that instead of being a Roman citizen he was a Jew of pure blood on both sides: and further let us suppose that he wrote a book in which, apart from insults to the Temple-Sweeping city and its Artemis, he combined all manner of plagues and vials of wrath which he made to descend upon the head or heads of a certain Babylon, a city

Ap ii 14,
20, iii 9

Ap xxi 8,
xxii 15

Acts xix 31

Acts xix 35

of the Seven Hills, which 'is fallen, is fallen,' and over its fall he chanted an exultant dirge. Would not the disguise be far too thin to shelter him from visitation by the Asiarch? Would the Asiarch not invoke the secular arm, and secure his banishment at least to a desert island, several hours sail from the animosity of Ephesus? Was not this treason of the second degree punished lightly with a sentence of exile?

In other words I am led by the surmise of Mr Simcox to the view that, whether the first three months of 70 A.D. were in Irenæus' mind or not, it is exceedingly likely that the cause of John's exile in Patmos was that he had written *Ap iv—xxii* or the greater part of it before that date, that he was punished for it, and that he had leisure to re-edit the work and prefix the first three chapters in Patmos. There are strong signs, which I will mention later, of chapters *i—iii* being composed later than the rest. Meanwhile as to Irenæus, it must be owned that he is inevitably pursued by his own sayings. No man who has written down the statement, that there must be four gospels because there are four winds, can fairly hope to preserve the same reputation as a judge of evidence after it as before it. His words are: "Since then the opponents (Valentinians, Marcion, and others) adduce testimony for us and employ these Gospels, our statement is sure and true concerning them. However, these Gospels are neither more in number than those, nor again is it possible that they be fewer.

For since there are four quarters of the world in which we are, and four principal (or general) winds, and the Church has been sown abroad over every land, but the Gospel is the pillar and ground of the Church and a breath of life, it is natural that it should have four pillars, breathing from all sides its incorruptibility, and vivifying mankind. From which things it is evident, that the Word who is the artificer of all, who sitteth upon the Cherubim and holdeth all things together, when manifested unto men, gave us the Gospel in fourfold shape and held together by one spirit. For the Cherubim have four faces, *πρόσωπα*, etc." (Iren. iii. 11, 8). He has for centuries been treated with respect, and doubtless will continue to be, but not as a witness to much beyond his immediate knowledge: not to things of two generations or three older than his life-time.

The Seer the Elder.

But it is now time to come to close quarters with our author himself. And it is really extraordinary that he has been commented upon, as I hope to shew, by our two illustrious Bishops of Durham and eluded them both, with other writers. The name 'elder' occurs scores of times in Holy Scripture. Why then must we start with a preconceived certainty that 'elder' here means a Christian 'elder'? Why does Bp. Lightfoot talk of 'the Presbyter John'? Why

1 Ki viii 1,
Ezra v 5,
Mt v 22,
2 Jn 1,
3 Jn 1, etc.
Lk xx 1

must Bp. Westcott say, "Too little is known of the condition of the Churches of Asia Minor at the close of the Apostolic age to allow any certain conclusion to be formed as to the sense in which he may have so styled himself¹." This is the sort of uncertainty in which Zahn also leaves us for the Apocalypse. "The term was used by Irenæus of those who held the highest office in the Church, perhaps through Asiatic usage, as of Polycarp, and of the early Bishops of Rome...¹"? Must we then forget that the Apostolic writers were Jews first? Our Lord was surrounded by 'Elders.' They were members of the Sanhedrim. Was not our Elder, the author of the Apocalypse, once a member of the Sanhedrim? And have we not two letters of his, known as the Second and the Third Epistle of John?

The best account of the Sanhedrim is perhaps that of Schürer² who shews that it was eminently an aristocratic body. As a member of it therefore, once an Elder was always an Elder³, till the day of his death or longer. If he became a Christian, he would still be called 'the Elder,' and would be all the more eligible to become a Christian presbyter. If he were a Prophet, he would still be 'the Elder,' though the honour of Prophecy would not be despised. If he was a scribe, or lawyer, his profession would not suffer, but neither

¹ *Epistles of St John*, p. lv.

² *The Jewish People in the time of Christ*, E. T. II i § 23.

³ See *C. I. G.* 9897, Schürer, Index, *Elders*.

would it alter his title. Our author was all these, and a very earnest and devout man withal. But he did not happen to be a good Greek scholar, even when all allowance is made for some of his solecisms as being intentional and serving to increase the solemnity of his expressions.

The ideas of the Elder are connected with his own experience. The four and twenty Elders.

Let us now see what passages in the main body of the Apocalypse support this contention.

The first passage to which we turn is what may be Ap iv 2 ff. called the first vision, for the commentators agree that i—iii are to be treated separately from the rest of the book. Heaven is opened in order to display to the Seer a solemn Assize of judgment. Round about the throne were four and twenty seats. Now the Sanhedrim was not only a deliberative and legislative body, but a judicial court, somewhat like our House of Lords. As a judicial tribunal, it was, as Schürer points out, not merely spiritual or theological in contrast with the civil judicatories of the Romans. It would be more correct to say that in contrast to the foreign authority of Rome it formed that *supreme native* court which here, as almost everywhere else, the Romans had allowed to continue as before, only with certain restrictions as to competency. To this tribunal then belonged all those judicial matters and all

those measures of an administrative character which either could not be completely dealt with by the inferior local courts or which the Roman procurator had not specially reserved for himself. Where the local courts could not agree, the Sanhedrim was the final court of appeal. Its sentences were binding on pain of death. A tribe charged with idolatry or a false prophet or a high priest was to be tried by it alone. No enlargement of the city or temple-courts was to be made without its decision. Charges of blasphemy were tried before it. Peter and John were tried before it, on charges of false-prophecy and deceiving the people, St Paul on charges of sedition and the one capital offence in Roman citizens, profanation of the Temple.

Mt xxvi 65,
Jn xix 7,
Acts vi 13
Acts iv, v

Acts xxiii,
xxiv 5, 6

Such being the jurisdiction of the Sanhedrim, its judicial procedure was as follows: the members of the court sat in a semicircle, 'like the half of a circular threshing-floor,' says the Mishna, in order that they might be able to see each other. Now Ap iv 4 says that the Elders sat round about the Throne (*κυκλόθεν*) using the same word (*κυκλόθεν*) of the rainbow, which presumably was semicircular. For deliberation the elders sat cross-kneed on¹ low cushions; for justice each had his own special seat, as did the learned men who sat in front of them in three rows to correct or confirm with an Amen. So says the same verse. The judicial quorum was formed

¹ Etheridge, *Jerusalem and Tiberias*, 1856, p. 26.

Ez i 5

of 23 elders, and by the same scruple which forbade them to give the legal number of 40 strokes and made them content with 39, they would probably have guarded themselves against accident by requiring 24 to be present. These are the four and twenty Elders of Ap iv 4, where the picture would have been in any case unsymmetrical with 23. No other explanation of the 24 elders that I have seen is at all satisfactory. To say that they, or their crowns, are the 24 Books of O.T. is the latest¹! I think also that the living creatures full of eyes before and behind partly take the place of the quick-witted 'disciples of the learned men' who were present in court: but this is doubtful.

The Book with seven seals; the Accuser: the laying on of hands.

Ap v 1

Secondly, the book written within and behind, sealed with seven seals, is now generally admitted to be a testament². Now the passage means that when

¹ Zahn, *Kanon* ii 148 referred to by Sanday, *Studia Biblica* iii 237.

Ez ii 10,
Ap vi 14,
x 2, 9,
Lk iv 17

² E. Hicks, *Greek Philosophy and Roman Law in the Christian Church*. S.P.C.K. So Zahn (*Einl.* p. 596), who says it is not a roll of papyrus, but a true book, and maintains the usual translation and reading, but not the punctuation. It rests upon the palm of the hand (*ἐπὶ*); but *ἐπὶ τῆς δεξιᾶς* or *τῇ δεξιᾷ* would alone be good Greek, for of course we cannot suppose Ap means 'I saw-upon the right hand.' Here *ἐπὶ τῇ δεξιᾷ* is a sample of the author's bad Greek. That it was a book is proved by the term 'open' being used four times, whereas a roll would have been 'unrolled.' The seven seals were fastened on the back, where they were invisible as the book lay. Zahn says, 'written within,

the testator dies, the will is produced, and, where possible, in the presence of seven witnesses who had sealed it, is unsealed, read aloud, and executed. The early Christians, though well aware that *omne simile claudicat*, had to consider that the writing of a will presumes the testator's death to be imminent, and its opening and execution presupposes his actual death. Heb ix 16 f is possibly based upon this very passage. But the notion of inheriting the kingdom is frequent in N.T. The Book in question, which in the O.T. is called 'the Book which GOD has written,' 'The Book,' 'The Book of the Living,' 'GOD'S Book,' has received some extension of meaning in Ap just such as we might expect from a lawyer accustomed as a judicial member of the Sanhedrim, versed in Roman law as well as in Jewish, and accustomed to deal with cases of probate of wills.

Ex xxxii
32 f.
Ps. xl 7 (?)
Ps lxix 28,
Phil iv 3
Ps cxxxix
16, cf. Heb
xii 23

Thirdly, another passage may be mentioned, in which the proofs of judicial knowledge of the Sanhedrim process are somewhat less cogent. In xii 10 the 'Accuser' of our brethren is expressed by a Hebraic form applicable only to judicial process¹.

and sealed behind.' If we punctuate as A.V. we only assume that the book had an index or title behind. The seer knew more about this detail of an ordinary testament or will than we do.

¹ It is in fact the regular Rabbinic name קטין, whereas the Advocate Michael was סנינר. Vischer refers to Rabbis on Job i 2, Zech iii 1. The word in Ap is καθήγωρ, which is not given in Liddell and Scott, 6th ed. See Schoettgen, *Hor. Heb.* i 1121. Buxtorf, *Lex. Rab.* p. 2009. Καθήγωρος alone is the true Greek.

The law was that first the reasons for the acquittal of a prisoner were heard; then might come those in favour of conviction. The procedure was always favourable to the accused. But the 'Accuser' in Ap xii 10 accused the brethren before the Judge *day and night*, i.e. incessantly repeating the same charges, which was unlawful. He was then 'cast' and tried, 11 presumably, for false-witness and blasphemy himself and found guilty of death. Now the law was that a sentence of condemnation could not be pronounced 12 till the following day. This probably accounts for 'he hath but a short time.'

Fourthly, it is not without great interest to observe that as a member of the criminal judicial committee of the Sanhedrim, John the Elder had, before taking his seat, gone through the usual formal admission by the ceremony of the laying-on of hands. It was not understood then as conferring any special *charisma* or gift, but as in the case of the victim in the O.T. as indicating that an office was transferred to the individual, who was confirmed in it, and was recognised as having come to years of *discretion*, and as qualified to discern between right and wrong as judge. The inference is not improbable that our laying of hands at confirmation on those who have come to years of discretion is the direct lineal descendant of this rule of the Sanhedrim, and that the Elder is the one above all who was the medium of its transfer from the Jewish to the Christian church. In our Prayer-Book

the laying-on of hands is immediately preceded by the ancient Gelasian collect with its reference to the seven spirits, which is substantially a legacy of the Seer's belief.

The Elder's other writings: the Third Epistle of John.

Before leaving this part of the subject, a few remarks may be made upon the authorship of 2 Jn and 3 Jn. It may be freely admitted that at first the style seems to resemble St John's Gospel and Epistle more than the Apocalypse does. It does seem at first as though 3 Jn were in point of style as a sort of bridge from the Apocalypse to 2 Jn, and this to 1 Jn. The idioms quoted by Bp Westcott, 2 Jn 3 'in truth,' 4 'no greater joy than these things, that...', 11 'is of GOD,' 'hath not seen GOD,' 12 'thou knowest that the witness is true,' and others, 10 'neither...and...', 2 Jn 9 'hath the Father and the Son,' 6 'his commandments' meaning the Master's without mention since verse 3 of the Master, are notable. And yet not even all these resemblances are conclusive. They are in no case very remarkable idioms or phrases. Current peculiarities and turns of language at Ephesus might account for them all, so far as they need to be accounted for. And there is much against the Evangelist having written them. Let us first examine 3 Jn. The Evangelist knew the Greek word for

'greater,' and has used it 14 times in Jn and 1 Jn. The writer of 3 Jn can only give us a solecism which we might translate 'greaterer.' No one will pretend that this is used for emphasis, nor deny that it is what we might expect from the Hebrew elder. Another solecism occurs in 10, as if we should say 'drivelling us' instead of 'drivelling to us.' (See p. 258.)

3 Jn 6 But next we observe that the author is a Prophet, and his object is to give in 3 Jn some directions about the reception of Prophets, whom he calls 'brethren,' just as he did in Ap xxii 9, i 9, xix 10. His friend Gaius escorts them—'sets' them, as they say in the North of England—as they deserve, for they are so staunch that in their itinerating labours
3 Jn 7 they accept no alms from the heathen. A comparison with the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles given above, concerning the reception of Prophets, will shew at once the identity of subject. The *coming*, the *reception*, the *taking of assistance*, the *teaching of the truth*, the *coming (out) in (for) the name* (of the Lord), *brethren*, *guests*, all these are expressions which though not identical in the 'Teaching' and 3 Jn 2—8, are parallel in both. The 'Teaching' is probably somewhere about a generation later, and recognises Bishops as well as Deacons.

Num xii Again it is eminently natural in a Prophet to
6 ff. have in mind the passage in which GOD rebukes

the sedition of Miriam and Aaron. It was a *locus classicus* with the Prophets, and rightly: 'If there be a prophet among you, I the Lord will make myself known unto him in a vision, and will speak unto him in a dream. My servant Moses is not so (as you rebels are), who is faithful in all mine house. With him will I speak mouth to mouth, even apparently, and not in dark speeches...' Accordingly we find the Prophet-elder writing that he would 'speak (with you) face to face' both in 3 Jn 14 and in 2 Jn 12. It is only one more sign of the neglect which has fallen upon the N. T. prophets, even at the hands of Westcott and Hort, that they do not even allow marks of quotation to these two expressions.

Another point deserves mention in 3 Jn 12 concerning Demetrius. It would seem that this is none other than the silversmith again of Acts xix, though he is considered by Bp Westcott to be a different man, a Christian, and the bearer of this letter. Let us infer rather that Demetrius, after all the trouble he gave, had received abundant witness from all men and from the truth itself when he came by his death. 'Aye¹,' says the Elder, 'and we are bearing witness still'; as *he* is not, for his works have gone with him into oblivion, and nobody bears witness to him any more.

¹ I cannot help thinking that *Nal* was originally written here and *kal* is a corruption. It would then be like Ap xxii 20. The remark just preceding 'Demetrius' deals at any rate with 'the evil-doer.'

The Second Epistle of John.

2 Jn 7

Turning to 2 Jn, we find the same praise of staunch persistence as in 3 Jn and in Ap ii, iii. Yet this letter I must say is very perplexing. First, two half-solecisms occur¹ in the introduction and the close. The close is almost identical with that of 3 Jn, and, but for one expression in the rest of the letter, the careful reader might be disposed to say that after all it was not by the Elder but by the Evangelist. That one phrase however to me is conclusive. 'The deceivers deny that Jesus Christ is coming in (the) flesh.' I must here join issue with Bp Westcott, who explains thus: 'The present perfection of the Lord's Manhood, which *is* still, and is to be manifested.' No: this text is, as it stands, nothing short of a complete converse of 1 Jn iv 2, 3, and a considerable confirmation of the Elder; though it must be remembered that the latter never says 'Jesus Christ' once between Ap i 9 and xxii 21, and perhaps not even in xxii 21: and that he never says 'flesh' once, though he uses the plural *σάρκες* of dead carrion thrice. The main point of 1 Jn is made against the Docetist theory, which denied that Jesus Christ *had come* in the flesh. Yet

iv 2 f.
v 1 6

¹ 2 Jn 2 *ἔσται* for *ἐσομένην*, cf. Ap xix 13 construction: and 12 *γενέσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς*. The only instance I can find is Plato, *Rep.* x 604 C, *ὅτι τάχιστα γίγνεσθαι πρὸς τὸ ἰᾶσθαι*, where we should probably read *τῷ*. [I find since writing the above that Mr J. Adam has restored *τῷ* in his text of the *Republic*.]

here we have deceivers who deny the converse, deny that *He is coming*. The Evangelist could have put here 'has come,' or 'came,' had this been his meaning, just as easily as 'is coming.' Could the Elder? Perhaps not; for he did not master his participles easily. Let us then suppose that the meaning is 'confess Jesus, as Messiah that was coming, in flesh.' Then we do obtain an entirely reasonable interpretation, whether we place a comma after 'coming' or not; and also a satisfactory agreement with the Apocalypse, but only at the price of a solecism of the first order: for 'Messiah that was coming' can only be expressed in Greek by *Χριστὸν τὸν ἐρχόμενον*: see Mt xi 3, xxi 9, xxiii 39, ||. Jn i 15, 27, iii 31, vi 14, xi 27, xii 13, xviii 4. The Evangelist of course never fails to put the article. In 2 Jn 7 we might at least have expected to find some trace of a various reading with *τόν* added; but there is none, in spite of the similar ending of *Χριστόν*. The only way therefore out of the difficulty appears to be by assuming the solecism with the very same word that we have in Ap i 8. And so far we have saved a violent contradiction by discovering one more feature of the Hebrew Elder in the body of the Second Epistle. (See p. 258.)

External Evidence for 2 and 3 John.

Before going farther it is proper to examine the external witness to these two brief letters. And here we find much muddling in the early authorities. I

must again join issue with Bp Westcott when he says¹: 'Dionysius of Alexandria clearly recognises them as the works of St John.' Dionysius says: 'Now the Evangelist for his part did not prefix his name even to the Catholic epistle' (the singular used here and the term Catholic may no doubt be explained by contrast with the special character of 2 Jn and 3 Jn, which are addressed to individuals), 'but without periphrasis started from the actual mystery of the holy revelation, That which was... For this was the revelation on which the Lord also called Peter blessed, saying Blessed art thou... But neither in the second so-called (*φερομένη*) of John and the third Epistle, though they are so short, is John prefixed by name, but there is written without name The Elder. Now this writer did not even think it enough to have named himself once before proceeding, but again takes up (the name), I John...' I think, then, it is by no means clear that he recognises 2 and 3 Jn as by the Evangelist. Else he would not have said they were 'so-called.' But he is discussing the authorship of the Apocalypse, and the other works come in only by the way. He notes that they are by the Elder, as is Ap, and it is fair to suppose that the expression 'This writer' is put with his wonted brevity, for 'The writer of this book Apocalypse.' We may conclude that Dionysius left the question of the authorship of 2 and 3 Jn entirely open.

H E iii 25 Eusebius leaves it also entirely open. He says

¹ *Epistles of St John*, p. liv.

that Papias (? 130—140 A.D.) 'has used testimonies from the former Epistle of John and from the Epistle of Peter likewise.' What are we to understand by 'the *HE* iii 39 former'? It distinctly implies the former of two and only two. Does he mean that 2 and 3 Jn are practically one Epistle? If not, it would be hard to say which of 2 and 3 Jn is to be ignored.

When we come to Irenæus we find either a confusion of memory, as I suppose, or of something else. In III 16 8 he quotes the *second* of John 7 f. as said by 'His disciple John in the aforesaid Epistle,' that is the *first* Epistle: he goes on at once, 'And again he says in (his) Epistle Many false...' and proceeds, 'There- *I Jn* iv 1 f. fore again he says in (his) Epistle, Everyone¹...In *I Jn* v 1 1 16, 3 he quotes 2 Jn 10 f. as by 'John the Lord's disciple.'

We have not done yet with the confusion. For the great Origen (210—240 A.D.) on John v 3 quoted by *HE* vi 25 Eusebius says: 'John who has left one Gospel...wrote also the Apocalypse...He has left also an Epistle of a very few (πάνυ ὀλίγων) lines. And be it also (true that he has left) a second and a third: for not all men allow

¹ I cannot pass over this passage without commenting on the fact that the Latin translation of Irenæus in quoting 2 Jn 7 f. gives 'venisse' as a translation of ἐρχόμενον. And it is necessary to his argument. Now it is vain to maintain that the present or imperfect tense is 'timeless,' as Weiss and many commentators do. If the aorist is sometimes timeless, the present never is so; and though there is such a thing as the prophetic present, there is no such thing in Greek as the present with a past meaning. Πέμπω *I am the sender*, and ἀδικῶ *I am a cheat*, will never justify *venisse* as the translation of ἐρχόμενον.

that these are genuine, but they are not both (together) of 100 lines.' His master Clement of Alexandria quotes 1 Jn i as 'John in his larger Epistle'¹. Now it is impossible to suppose that Origen described our 1 Jn as one of quite a few lines. Here indeed is a wide room for conjecture.

Next the Muratorian fragment (? 150—200 A.D.) on the Canon may not be passed over. After mentioning the four Gospels, Acts, Epistles of Paul (Cor (2) Eph Phil Col Gal Thes (2) Rom, seven, 'following the plan of his predecessor John,') Philem Tit Tim (2), he refers to the spurious Epistles of Paul to the Laodiceans and Alexandrines, 'and many more things which cannot be received into the Catholic Church: for it does not suit for gall to be mixed with honey. Of course the Epistle of Jude *and the title of John a pair* (superscriptio Johannis duas) are received in the Catholic Church: and 'Wisdom' written by Solomon's friends in his (her) honour.' This is the literal translation of the MS, and though it is a fragment and fragmentary and may have lacunae, which commentators try to fill in and even to invent², this venerable scrap is entitled to respect in its present form wherever it makes sense. Editors have attacked the word 'duas' above, and also in the neighbouring line, where it occurs thus: 'Verū ad filemonem una' et ad titū una et ad tymotheū duas pro affecto et

¹ Strom. II p. 389 Morel.

² Bunsen, *Analecta* i 152; see Mayor, *St James*, p. xlviii.

dilectione in honore tamen ecclesi(ae) catholice in ordinatione ecclesiastic(ae) descepline s̄c̄ificate (sanctificatae) sunt.' Here too 'duas' makes good sense, and there is no ground for altering the passage into 'unam...unam...dilectione; in....' The one *duas* in the sense of *a pair* supports the other. The writer therefore, who has not mentioned James, Hebrews, and 1 and 2 Peter as Canonical, unless indeed he dealt with Peter in speaking of Mark in the lost portion of the MS, has mentioned a pair of John's Epistles. But what is 'superscriptio'? The common emendation 'superscripti', meaning 'the aforesaid John,' is inadmissible. John is mentioned eight times in all, and it is absurd to suppose that the seventh time he is called 'the aforesaid John.' The sixth time of his mention is 'John in the Apocalypse': but so also is the fifth. Nowhere else is he called 'aforesaid,' nor is any other person in the document which is agreed by all to be translated from Greek. Westcott prints 'superscripti' but says '*superscriptae* suits the construction better (ἐπιγεγραμμένοι Ἰωάννου).' But by retaining 'superscriptio' we get a good sense, ἐπιγραφή, *the title of John—a pair*. We read just below 'Acta omnium apostolorum *sub* uno libro scripta sunt.' The writer in fact interchanges the book and the title. We may fairly conclude that the writer knew of only two Johannine epistles, and further we must infer that the former was our 1 Jn, and the latter our 2 and 3 Jn

¹ Westcott, *The Canon*, and others.

united, both beginning The Elder, and both ending in almost the same paragraph as to words and meaning.

But there is yet another authority of about the *II E vi 14* same antiquity, Clement of Alexandria. Eusebius tells us that 'Clement in his Hypotyposeis or Adumbrations had made concise explanations of—briefly speaking—the entire canonical scripture including the controverted books, Jude and the rest of the catholic epistles, as well as Barnabas, and the so-called Apocalypse of Peter.' Now as Clement himself¹ talks of 'the larger epistle' of John, thus implying two and not three epistles in all, this again appears to confirm the idea that the Johannine epistles were considered to be two and not three. Routh² says 'But I must admit that I have not found any antenicene writer—perhaps owing to the epistle being so short—who has quoted 3 Jn without adding, along with his or others' mention of it, a doubt about the genuineness of 3 Jn and 2 Jn.'

Internal Evidence of 2 John.

There is no reason whatever to doubt their genuineness if examined carefully and understood. The object of the above remarks is to shew that if 3 Jn is by the Prophet-Elder, and if 2 Jn was in the second century always classed with it and supposed to

¹ Strom. ii 15. The passage in Clem. *Adumb.* 1601 P. given by Alford does not oppose this.

² *R. S.* i 423.

be one epistle with it, as the testimonies cited above appear to imply, we have a very strong reason to think that they were always companion letters from the first and accepted as proceeding from the same original pen. Thus the link which appears to bind 2 Jn to 1 Jn and to the Evangelist is less strong externally than that which binds it to 3 Jn and the Elder. We can now finish our examination of it upon its merits, though most persons will agree that no divorce of these two Epistles is possible. None of the statements of post-nicene fathers need trouble us at all. They knew no more about the question than they have said, and none of them studied it with half the care of Dionysius. But the other language of 2 Jn has now to be examined.

Truth (in, for, by) 5 times in 2 Jn, 6 times in 3 Jn. But *in truth* occurs no less than 3 times in 2 Jn, and 3 in 3 Jn. This is not so common in the Evangelist (only Jn xvii 19 and 1 Jn iii 18): it is a Hebraism. *Walking in truth* is peculiar to 2 and 3 Jn. 'Ye shall know the truth' is the Evangelist's: 'they that ^{viii 32} have known the truth' is the Prophet-Elder's. 'The truth which abideth in us' seems remarkably like the Evangelist; nevertheless it does not occur in Jn, 1 Jn and the reading of A 'dwelleth in us' is almost as likely as the text.

Shall be with us for ever is the regular phrase of the Evangelist (14 times). Ap always says 'for ever and ever (14 times).

Writing a new commandment: exactly like 1 Jn ii 7, 8. Ap has only 'commandments' plural, 3 Jn none. When however we come to the *not new* commandment itself, there is a very marked contrast: in 2 Jn it is mutual love, in 1 Jn it is 'the word which ye heard,' the terms of which are truth and righteousness, while love is not mentioned till a later paragraph. There is a good deal more implied in the 'word' besides 'love.'

From the beginning, a strong mark of the Evangelist (14 times), especially in the phrase 'ye heard from the beginning.'

1 Jn ii 7,
24, iii 11

Walk according to, in; 3 Jn twice, 2 Jn thrice, 5 times Ap but in concrete sense. Jn and 1 Jn 5 times each.

His, cf. 1 Jn ii 12 referring to Christ's six verses before. Here it refers 3 verses back.

Commandments, plural 4 times Jn, 7 times 1 Jn, 3 times Ap.

Gone forth into the world, so 3 Jn 7.

Those who do not confess &c., cf. 1 Jn iv 1—3. The passages compared together seem as though they were meant polemically to refute each other. A more entire contradiction cannot be imagined; only on the theory of a solecism could they remain in the same Bible. The text is almost too chiliastic even for Ap.

Lose—a word strangely absent in Ap except ix 11: 12 times in Jn.

Receive full reward, Ap twice; once Jn of labourers: see Ap xxii 12.

Hath the Father and the Son: the phrase derives from Ap xxi 7 but it might seem developed and advanced on the way to the difficult metaphysical distinctions of Jn and even of 1 Jn. We make a great mistake in reading into this and into 1 Jn ii 22 etc. many ideas which have gathered round the words since Nicæa. For instance we are at once compelled to admit that there is a strange lack of literal acknowledgement of the Holy Spirit throughout 2 Jn; but this is just the same lack which occurs in Ap. Could there be a more overwhelming contrast with 1 Jn v 6, 8 than this? See p. 197 below.

If any one cometh again seems to be a Prophet coming round to deliver his message. So 3 Jn 3.

Bid him Godspeed corresponds with 3 Jn 6.

The only intelligible account of the Epistle generally is that it deals with the same subject as 3 Jn, the reception of Prophets on their circuits, that it is addressed to a Church, and perhaps is a circular letter carried by a Prophet from Ephesus and the Church there. If so it is written by a Prophet and fits its conclusion. Moreover the Evangelist would have known the language of it and would have it before his mind in writing 1 Jn. The 'Elect Kyria' would soon be misunderstood to mean a lady so-called; but the Prophet-Elder would undoubtedly have meant a Church (cf. Ap xxi 9, xxii 17) in his usual concrete figurative language.

CHAPTER VII.

THE PROPHETS IN SOME APOSTOLIC WRITINGS.

The Sabbath-rest.

FROM Barnabas the transition is easy to his fellow-prophet Judas who was charged with the transmission, along with Silas, of the decrees of the Council of Jerusalem,—a very simple matter to the Prophet as Acts xv 32, 22, cf. i 23, xiii 3 he went his Circuits (see p. 14). We usually read in the commentaries that ‘nothing more is known’ of Judas, except that Barsabbas is a patronymic which he bore. But, as in the case of Barnabas, we may expect to find that the name receives illustration from the work to which he was devoted. The Prophets performed an honourable and sometimes heroic duty in encouraging their hearers to endure hardness and tribulation.

Take better part, with manlier heart,
Thine adult spirit can;
No God, no Truth, receive it ne'er—
Believe it ne'er—O Man!
No God, it saith; ah, wait in faith
God's self-completing plan;
Receive it not, but leave it not,
And wait it out, O Man!¹

¹ Clough, *The New Sinai*.

Still the insistence upon this theme did not exhaust their teaching, and there was another not less blessed side, the silver lining to the dark cloud. This was expressed by the compendious term Sabbath-rest. And when the writer to the Hebrews says, 'There remaineth therefore a sabbath-rest to the people of GOD,' he is treading on common prophetic ground, or striking a familiar prophetic note. So too it need not surprise us if he at once proceeds to refer to a passage in the prophetic Apocalypse in which the 'word of GOD' is represented as a warrior going forth to conquer the heathen, for the purpose of correcting the one-sided conception which many readers would form of it by inferring Him to be an outward more than an inward power in the world. Now it is most natural that a prophet who could impart most effectively the teaching of the Sabbath-rest expected to follow after the tribulation, should receive among the sons of the Prophets the surname of Bar-Shabbath. The revered Book of Enoch has the same thought of Sabbath-rest, but in a crude form limited to the present life. 'Then will all the righteous escape and will live till they beget a thousand children, and all the days of their youth and their Sabbath will they complete in peace.' 'This tree will be given to the righteous and humble. By its fruit life will be given to the elect...and they will live a long life on earth...no sorrow will affect them.'

Heb iv 9—¹²

Ap xix 13
—¹⁵

En x 17

xxv 5

Cf. Is lxxv
19

· *The Epistle of Jude.*

It is only natural that when we turn to the Epistle of Jude¹,—for he is the same as this Judas Barsabbas, not of the Twelve himself, though brother of James—we find the quotations already mentioned from the prophetic works, Enoch and Assumption of Moses. The references to ‘Balaam,’ ‘the angels which kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation, whom he hath reserved, in everlasting chains,’ ‘wandering stars for whom is reserved the blackness of darkness for ever’ (see for the explanation, p. 67), ‘the mockers in the last time who are sectarian, animal, without the spirit,’ all express thoughts in these few 25 verses which find their parallels in the Apocalypse. The explanation of the stars ‘leaving their own habitation’ is clearly to be found in Enoch lxxxvi 1, ‘Behold a star fell from heaven, and it arose and ate and pastured amongst those oxen. And after that I saw the large and black oxen, and behold they all changed their stalls and pastures and cattle, and began to live with each other. And again...I saw many stars descend and cast themselves down from heaven to that first star, and they became bulls amongst those cattle and remained with them².’

¹ Harnack assigns Jude’s Epistle to c. 100—130 A.D. But it is far more likely to be 65—70. The careful arrangement of it under seven sets of three heads each is well brought out by Dr Maclear in *Book by Book*, p. 203. The numbers are still further suggestive of the prophetic *genus*.

² See Charles, *Enoch*, p. 52, for Jude 6, who gives another parallel,

Relation of 2 Peter to Jude.

The question of the priority of Jude to 2 Peter, so often discussed, and well treated by Alford, seems to receive some light from the above considerations. 2 Peter¹ is of course far more Pauline than Jude, more fully developed, less abrupt, more elaborate and extended in the condemnation of the evil-doers in chapter ii. 'The angels reserved for judgment' have ^{2 Pet ii 4} been bound *in Tartarus* with chains of darkness—a combination of Jude 6 and 13—and are a proof that the Lord knows how to reserve *the unrighteous* ^{ii 9} in chastisement unto the judgment-day. Instead of the archangel Michael we have *angels* refraining from a blasphemous judgment. Balaam is mentioned ^{ii 11} again as loving the reward of unrighteousness, and getting a conviction of his own transgression, while ^{ii 15} he is recognised as a Prophet gone mad. Sodom and Gomorrha, which in Jude are a sample of foully open impurity, are here a type of what is unholy and dis- ^{ii 6} gusting. The figures of Jude 12 are considerably amplified in 2 Peter; Jude 12 *a* one line becomes two

Jude 4, 'Denying our only Master and Lord,' with Enoch ^{xlviii 10}, 'Denied the Lord of Spirits and His anointed.'

¹ Harnack assigns 2 Peter to c. 160 (? 150)—c. 175. My object here has not been to determine either a late or an early date, but merely to allow evidence to speak for itself. If we ignored the Prophets, I should almost say to Harnack, Why so early? why not 235? Theophilus died soon after 180. If he does quote it, he quotes it very soon after its composition according to Harnack. See Salmon, *Int. N.T.* 1891, p. 488.

lines and a half in 2 Peter; 12 *b* half a line becomes two and a half; 12 *c* the winds become a whirlwind. But it would not be true to infer that the author of 2 Peter merely took Jude and expanded it. Rather we should say that he worked out the same lines in prophetic spirit and carried them forward. At the same time it is remarkable that hardly one point in the main body of Jude's epistle, except the references to the exodus from Egypt—but see 2 Pet i 11—to Cain, and to Korah—but see ii 10—is unnoticed by 2 Peter.

2 Peter prophetical.

Besides the substance of Jude there is found in
 2 Pet i 1—2 Peter the introduction in place of that of Jude; the
 4
 i 5—15 Pauline passage, which term however by no means
 implies that St Paul was the author, but only that the
 style much resembles his; the personal statement
 i 16—18 about the Transfiguration, which testimony of an eye-
 i 19—21 witness serves to strengthen the prophetic word.
 Then follows in ii the substance of Jude; and in iii
 further warnings about the Second Coming and
 mockers who mock. The passage concerning pro-
 phesy¹ deserves fuller examination. The meaning

¹ Neither James nor Harnack (*Texte u. Unt.* ix, 1893) professes his ability to decide the relation of 2 Pet to the Apocalypse of Peter. I can only venture to say that I think the latter is later and can see no certain trace that it is connected with the former. Such expressions as 'righteous,' &c., 'the way,' 'the way of God,' &c., 'pollution of adultery,' 'fire,' 'punishment,' are to be expected in any such writings.

appears to be this: (1) We Apostles were eye-witnesses of the magnificence of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of GOD. In 12—15 the writer has dealt with his own circumstances, mentioning by the way his 'exodus' and 'tabernacling' which closely agree with the Lord's 'exodus' and the 'tabernacles' in the Lk ix 31 account of the Transfiguration. Here he speaks in the first person singular. When he returns to the 2 Pet i 16 plural, we are to infer that he means the Apostles. —²¹ When in 18 he says *ἡμεῖς* he means the three who were present in the Holy Mount. (2) When he comes to 19—21 I understand him to mean: We Apostles who are Prophets or accept the Prophetic teaching have in the above eye-witness a confirmation of the Prophetic Word or teaching of the Prophets. Of course it is a question whether we are at liberty to supply 'so much the more,' *τοσούτῳ*, before *βεβαιότερον*. I think we may and ought to do so: but it is fair to say that the other interpretation is literally this: We have already the Prophetic Word as something firmer than even eye-witness. But I can hardly

The only phrases that suggest imitation are: 'a dark place' 2 Pet i 19 = Pet Ap 21, but here the place in the former is this world, and in the latter the next world: 'mire' 2 Pet ii 22 = Pet Ap 23, but in the former the proverb is perfectly clear and natural, in the latter the mire is in the Inferno: 'what sort of persons *ποταποί* ought ye to be...' 2 Pet iii 11 = Pet Ap 5 'what sort of persons they are in form,' i.e. the righteous who have come out of the world. The imitation is not very strong if it rests on a *ποταποί*, as I think it does. Moreover the question of Pet Ap 5 is dealt with at length in 4 Esdras vii 88 ff, of which Pet Ap is a reminiscence.

think that eye-witness is intended to be put second in importance to Prophecy even by so enthusiastic a Prophet as this writer. (3) The use, limits, and condition of Prophecy. It serves *as* a light shining in a dark place, as indeed it was, with a reality beyond anything that we can now in a Christian society imagine. It serves *until* the awakening of the Christian conscience and its enlightenment by the presence of Christ in the hearts of His disciples,—a notable advance upon the merely Jewish and millenarian ideas. It serves *for those* who learn by experience that every scriptural Prophecy must be interpreted by Prophets, who are still present in the Church for the purpose, and does not admit of private interpretation by those who are not Prophets, in accordance not only with St Paul's Rule, but with the ancient and traditional rule that Prophecy never was brought to man by man's own will alone, but men and women uttered their Prophecies under the present influence by the Holy Spirit, direct from GOD.

1 Cor xiv
32

2 Peter considered dangerous.

These last words present us with a view of Prophecy which emphatically supports the Montanist contention that a Prophet might speak in ecstasy, and in ancient times did so. They are directly traversed by the contention of Miltiades, 'That a Prophet must not speak in ecstasy' (see p. 20). The

term *ecstasy* is not used in 2 Peter, it is true ; but we cannot maintain that the present participle *φερόμενοι* admits of any other meaning. Had the word been *ἐνεχθέντες*, which the author knew and has used just ^{2 Pet i 17,} above, the case would have been entirely different. ¹⁸ But having used the aorist already three times, and little dreaming of the controversy to follow later, he freely used the present participle with an aorist verb. His use of it is quite reason enough why the Church of the second and third centuries should reject the book. It had committed itself decisively on the important question which troubled the Church from about 100 to 160 A.D., and it has accordingly suffered the disparagement which befell the Christian Prophets, so completely that it was not even known to the champion of Prophecy, Tertullian ; unless indeed he referred to it in the six books upon Ecstasy, which were perhaps suppressed for the same reason¹.

¹ A small sample of suppression may be found in Eus *HE* iii 36. Eusebius is speaking of Papias who 'like Polycarp was a bishop, of the parish in Hierapolis, *a man of the greatest possible learning and versed in the Scripture.*' The italicised words are omitted by the Latin version of Rufinus, the very ancient Syriac version, and several Greek versions. Papias was too valuable an authority for the prophetic side of the Church for the opponents of that side to allow this eulogy on the part of Eusebius.

*Rejection of the Apocalypse and 4 Catholic Epistles
by the Syrian Church.*

One of the most remarkable facts in the History of the Canon of N.T. is the determination of the Syrian Church, of which Antioch was the metropolis, to reject the prophetic books, Apocalypse of John, 2 and 3 John, 2 Peter, and Jude¹. Not till 508 A.D. did the Syrian Church allow these four Epistles to be translated into Syriac, when it admitted them to the N.T. in the Philoxenian version. The Apocalypse was still kept waiting a century longer, till 616, when it was admitted in the revised Philoxenian by Thomas of Harkel, called the Harcleian Syriac. Not even the great Chrysostom (d. 407), formerly a presbyter of Antioch, and a cultured Greek, has anywhere, says Westcott, noticed these five works. Why were they rejected? Presumably because they were thought to be dangerous. And why were they thought to be so? Until some more complete and satisfactory answer is found to this question we may be allowed to hold that the prejudice against them was of old standing, and was due to the opposition of the Bishops in Syria to the Christian Prophets in the second century.

¹ See Westcott, *Canon*, 6th ed. pp. 233—241, 438, Sanday, *Studia Biblica*, iii p. 246, quoting Gwynne, On a Syriac MS of the Apocalypse.

2 Peter compared with St Paul.

We have seen that 2 Peter agrees with St Paul's Rule forbidding any but Prophets present in the Church ^{1 Cor xiv 30} to discern matters of the Prophecy and decide upon them. These presumably would be sometimes questions of interpretation and arithmetic, sometimes of application, sometimes purely of expediency in regard to present conditions of the Church. All sorts of delicate questions, local and temporary, would from time to time fall within the scope of Prophecy, but at all times there would be the old Scriptural basis involving the right to take a text and treat it in a special manner. This right would be the matter in question over which the other Prophets must preside. It might seem that St Paul went near to allowing the dangerous practice of speaking during ecstasy in 1 Cor xiv 30, but the meaning rather is that a solemn silence is enjoined upon all the congregation, while one of the Prophets sits rapt in intense abstraction. There will be time for all to speak, if due order is preserved and patience is exercised. Here then is the difference between St Paul and 2 Peter. It would be of course a pure conjecture to suppose that this was one of the hard sayings in St Paul's 'letters concerning these things,' which are tortured by the unlearned and ^{2 Pet iii 16} unstable, as they do the other Scriptures, to their own destruction. At the same time it is worth observing that 'stablishing,' *στηρίζειν*, seems especially a pro-

phetic term. In Ap iii 2 John urges the angel of Sardis to 'stablish the things that were likely to die.' What are these things except prophetic gifts and practices, which were naturally endangered by the mere fact of Messiah having come? 'Works' do not 'die,' they are incomplete perhaps or wicked. But only living things can die—living gifts like that of

^{2 Th ii 16,} Prophecy. Again, a strongly prophetic passage in
¹⁷ St Paul concludes with the use of this term along with the other usual prophetic term 'consolation,' which is a very imperfect translation of the name of

^{Acts iv 36} Barnabas, 'Son of Prophecy.' A still more curious fact is that it occurs in a prophetic passage from our

^{Lk xxii 32} Lord's own lips, addressing St Peter, 'stablish thy brethren.' There is therefore some reason to suppose that the unlearned and unstable or unstablished, whom 2 Peter mentions, are the opponents of Prophecy as a living gift in the Church, of which his

^{2 Pet i 12} readers themselves had had the benefit. The complexion of 2 Peter iii throughout is that of a Prophet, who is assailed on all sides by the disappointment and the mockery which wait upon unfulfilled instances of Prophecy.

2 Peter and its reference to St Paul.

The reference to the hard sayings is, however, only part of the remark of 2 Peter on St Paul's writings, which are plainly treated as already portion of the 'Scriptures,' and thus receive almost contemporary

testimony. For the rejection of an epistle which contained such testimony, very strong and cogent reasons must have been entertained, such as seemed to affect vitally the constitution and order of the Church, in fact such as have been advanced above in connection with Prophecy. But this is an opportunity to refer to the admirable suggestion of the late Dr Quarry in Dr Salmon's Introduction¹, that the cause of the reference to St Paul is probably Ròm ii 4, and I would add especially the following verses. This is one of the prophetic passages in St Paul; the long-suffering of GOD is preparatory to a day of wrath and apocalypse of the just judgment of GOD, when the good, who along the well-known lines of endurance seek for glory and honour and incorruption, shall receive life eternal (a *future* blessing), while the disobedient shall receive wrath and tribulation. GOD's long-suffering leads man to repentance. So 2 Pet iii 9. Compare too the 'treasuring up' of 2 Pet iii 7 with that of Rom ii 5.

Ap i 9,
ii 2, 3, 19
iii 10, xiii
10, xiv 12,
Lk xxi 19
etc.
Ap ii 5, 16,
21, 22,
iii 3, 19,
ix 20f.,
xvi 9, 11

2 *Peter emanates from Rome, and from St Luke.*

But there is another point to be considered in this passage. The writer says 'Paul wrote to you.' This suits the Romans better than any other Church. The epistle is not addressed to any specified Church, and this absence of an address we can well understand if

¹ p. 358, chap. xx, 5th ed.

the writer were in or near the vast metropolis when he wrote. The 'virtue,' which is GOD'S as well as man's quality in this epistle, is quite as much Roman as Greek in its origin, and strikes a noble chord. The word *ταρταρώσας* can hardly have come from the Tartarus of Homer, Hesiod, and Pindar straight into 2 Peter: yet it can otherwise only have come through Vergil and the Latin poets. Of course it is nowhere else in N.T. or LXX, and the verb appears to be wholly unknown. Where but in Rome would readers be found to understand it? The verse suggests the Mamertine prison at Rome. Lastly, would not the frequent references to fire receive far greater emphasis if we supposed that Rome had lately been burnt by Nero, to say nothing of many other conflagrations of portions of it, e.g. the Capitol by the Vitellians, during a lifetime ending about 70 A.D.¹ Of Gehenna there is no mention at all. On the other hand there is no exultation over authorities, but a law-abiding purpose runs through the Epistle, which appears not only in the great frequency of 'our Lord Jesus Messiah' seven times, but in ii 8, iii 17, ἀθέσμων, cf. *nefarii homines*, and ii 10, 11, 12, 19. On the whole I am unable to see why 2 Peter should not have been written in the time of St Peter himself; and I believe it to have been composed during a temporary absence from Rome, in the near neighbourhood of it, during the troublous times shortly before 70, by the Apostle's

¹ fire, ii 6 f, iii 7, 10, 12: destruction, ii 1, 2, 3, iii 7, 16, 6, 9.

own amanuensis, who owing to St Peter's infirmity was instructed by him to treat the topics in his own free literary style.

Who then was the amanuensis? We naturally turn first to him who 'became Peter's interpreter,' as Papias tells us,—St Mark; but we fail to discover resemblances between his Gospel and 2 Peter, either in style or contents. I venture, however, upon a most simple answer, so simple that it may perhaps raise a smile from those who have found in the author a writer of Baboo-Greek, a forger, a 'pseudepigrapher,' a borrower from Josephus or Philo, or a late second-century concoctor of *réchauffé*. Some language has been expended, not only in modern times, over this epistle, and Dr Salmon's account of it (Introd. to N.T., chapter xxv) is still good reading. I may not expect to make converts to my own humble but genuine opinion when I say that the amanuensis was St Luke.

Alford is quite right so far as he goes, but he does not suggest St Luke, and like most commentators is chiefly occupied in shewing the resemblances between 2 Peter and the Petrine speeches in Acts. Yet reflexion will shew us that if St Luke was able to write in the Acts so much about St Paul from personal intercourse with him, he probably enjoyed the same advantage in the case of St Peter. If so, it was easy for St Luke to write an epistle for the infirm Apostle, in which he speaks to the Romans exactly in the

terms of 2 Pet iii 1, 2, 'In both (epistles) I stir up your sincere mind by putting you in remembrance; that ye should remember the words which were spoken before by the holy prophets, and your Apostles' commandment of the Lord and Saviour.' The R.V. gives a true paraphrase, but not a translation, in this verse. 'Your Apostles,' of course, are St Peter and St Paul. We can also understand at once how St Luke, after saying to the Romans that 'our beloved brother Paul, according to the wisdom given him wrote to you' (2 Pet iii 15, 16), could proceed to speak of his epistles in terms both of plain criticism and of high eulogy. To the Romans at least the Epistle to the Romans by Paul the Apostle would rank along with 'the other scriptures.'

The chief parallels are as follows:—

2 Pet i 13 as long as I am in this tabernacle *σκηνώματι* = Lk ix 33 'Let us make three tabernacles' *σκηνάς*.

2 Pet i 15 after my exodus = Lk ix 31 spake of his exodus. The metaphor is found only here.

2 Pet i 1 have obtained by lot *λαχοῦσιν* = Acts i 17 obtained by lot *ἔλαχεν* this ministry and apostleship. The construction with the accusative in both places is unique in N.T. *Λαγχάνω* is found in N.T. besides only in Jn xix 24 and Lk i 9.

2 Pet ii 9 the godly *εὐσεβείς* = Acts x 2, 7 Cornelius ...a godly man: a godly soldier. Nowhere else in N.T.

2 Pet. ii 9 under punishment *κολαζομένους* = Acts iv 21 how they might punish them. Nowhere else in N.T.

2 Pet i 16 we were eye-witnesses *ἐπόπται γενηθέντες* = Lk i 2 were actual eye-witnesses *αὐτόπται... γενόμενοι*. Neither word for eye-witness occurs elsewhere in N.T.

2 Pet iii 1 This second epistle, in which (plural) = Acts xv 36 in every city in which (plural). Winer knows no other exact parallel to this anywhere.

2 Pet ii 16 spake *φθεγγόμενον* with man's voice, 18 uttering *φθεγγόμενοι* great swelling words = Acts iv 18 nor to speak at all nor teach. Nowhere else in N.T.

2 Pet ii 22 a dog that hath turned, *ἐπιστρέψας*. This is a favourite word with 2 Peter, who uses it in ii 21 also, where he alters the LXX of Prov xxvi 11 in order to use it in the proverb. Now St Luke has done the same. In Lk i 17 'to turn the hearts of fathers to their children' he is translating Mal iii 23, but he has altered the LXX in order to bring in *ἐπιστρέψαι*. He uses the word 18 times, whereas it occurs once in 1 Peter and only 18 times in N.T. besides. We should translate it *convert*.

2 Pet i 1 Symeon Peter. St Luke alone records this form, in Acts xv 14.

2 Pet iii 3 There shall come mockers with mockery *ἐμπαιγμονῇ ἐμπαίκεται*. It may be granted that this is from Zech xii 13, though not given as

a quotation in Westcott and Hort. The same applies to *χαρᾷ χαίρει* Jn iii 29, from Is lxvi 10. The emphasis of the verb, of strong feeling or its expression, by the addition of the cognate substantive in the dative case is a favourite figure of speech in St Luke, and he seems to have usually chosen to repeat LXX passages where it is used. Thus Acts vii 34 'I have seen, I have seen,' from Ex iii 7, and Lk xxii 15 *ἐπιθυμία ἐπεθύμησα* 'with desire I desired' from Gen xxxi 30. But in Acts iv 17 *ἀπειλῇ* before *ἀπειλησόμεθα* has been given up. There still remain Acts v 28 *παραγγελία παρηγγείλαμεν* 'we charged you with a charge'; and Acts xxiii 14 *ἀναθέματι ἀνεθεματίσαμεν ἐαυτούς*, 'we cursed ourselves with a curse¹.'

2 Pet i 17 has a particular kind of broken construction, which finds a most remarkable parallel in Acts xxiv 5. Instead of putting the genitive case of a participle in agreement with a preceding noun, he starts a new sentence with the participle in the nominative. In the former case for *λαβὼν γὰρ...τιμὴν* if we put *λαβόντος*, removing the previous stop, we have the right construction at once: in the latter, instead of *εὐρόντες γὰρ τὸν ἄνδρα* if we put *εὐρόντων*, we have it again here. This instance of a deep-seated mannerism is to me quite conclusive.

2 Pet ii 3 'make merchandise of you' *ἐμπορεύσονται*

¹ The only other case in N.T. is James v 17, where see Mayor's note. The Lucan instances preponderate heavily.

ὑμᾶς with the accusative case is unique in N.T., but is very like St Luke's use of εὐαγγελίζεσθαι τινὰς to evangelise people and places, Lk iii 18; Acts viii 25, 40, xiii 32, xiv 15, 21, xvi 10; 1 Pet i 12. It only occurs elsewhere in Gal i 9.

2 Pet ii 7 Lot is mentioned by no N.T. author but St Luke, Lk xvii 28, 29, 32.

2 Pet i 16 majesty μεγαλειότης is only found in Lk ix 43 and Acts xix 27.

The above list does not take account of the numerous Pauline expressions in 2 Peter, such as ἐπίγνωσις, ἐπιγινώσκειν, '(our) Lord Jesus Christ,' and many more, which need to be explained and are only explained by the theory here advanced.

The Elders quoted by Irenæus.

Let us now pass to writings of another class, which are often quoted by Irenæus, and which Bishops Lightfoot and Harmer have been good enough to present to us in a convenient collection at the end of their *Apostolic Fathers*, the reliques of the Elders quoted by Irenæus. They have indeed presented us also with the reliques of several who were not Elders. Thus Reliques I and II are by ὁ κρείττων¹ a poet: III is by 'the divine ambassador and herald of the

¹ We may conjecture that there is a hint of the name *Aristion*—the *Best*, or at least the *Better than we*—in *Reliques* i, ii, iii and perhaps vii. See p. 108. *Aristion* means *Bester*, κρείττων means *Better*.

Truth,' also a poet: VI is by 'one of the old (generation)': VII is by 'those who were older and far better than we': VIII is by 'some one': XII is by 'some one before our time': XIV the same. With these eight miscellaneous unknowns we are not now concerned. But there still remain nine quotations, or rather quotations from nine different passages of Irenæus, which it is worth while to observe collectively, though some have already been noticed.

Iren ii 22 (see p. 230), gives a testimony, not a quotation, which concerns the age of our Lord in His ministry. It is a 'witness of all the Elders who had conferred with John the Lord's disciple in Asia.' This is a subject on which one might expect any disciple of His, whether personal or not, to be able to give some answer; and anyone who had associated with a disciple would be expected to have an opinion if not certain knowledge. Now we are quite accustomed to find the term *disciple* applied in the Acts to numbers of people whom no one has ever supposed to be personal disciples of the Lord. I do not know why Bp Lightfoot speaks of Aristion and the second John, both mentioned by Papias, as 'personal disciples of Christ¹.' There is no intimation whatever in Papias that they were personal disciples; rather the reverse. 'John the Lord's disciple' is the expression of the Elders, and this may quite well apply to John the Elder. Whether it is reasonable to accept as true

¹ *Essays on S. R.* pp. 145, 149.

the next following statement, which is Irenæus's own and not the Elders', is another question: 'For he remained with them until the times of Trajan.' According to Eusebius (see p. 250) he did not return from *HE III* Patmos till the reign of Nerva (Sept. 96 to Jan. 98).²⁰ Irenæus goes on to say that 'some of the Elders saw not only John, but other Apostles too.' But this statement must be kept apart from that of the Elders.

Iren iii 17 4, a very short relique by an Elder, who 'has said to us, concerning all who in any way debase the things of God and adulterate the truth: It is ill mixing chalk in the milk of GOD.' This reminds us of the similar phrase in the Muratorian fragment on the Canon: 'It is ill mixing gall with honey.' The application is the same, that of combining forgeries in the name of Paul with canonical writings. We cannot draw a certain inference, nor be sure that the author, called 'superior' in Latin, was a Presbyter or Elder in Greek. He was perhaps the one called *ὁ κρείττων*, the iambic poet.

Iren iv 27 1 to 28 1 contains quotations first¹ from 'a certain Elder whom Irenæus had heard himself, who had heard from those who had seen the Apostles' (one degree further than before) 'and from their (i.e. of those who &c.) disciples, and then from the Elders.' It is not easy to say how much is actual

¹ 'Audivi a quodam presbytero, qui audierat ab his qui apostolos viderant, et ab his qui didicerant: sufficere etc.'

quotation and how much is written by Irenæus in this passage. But the tone is just that of the Christian Prophets. The following is an abstract, the supposed comments of Irenæus being bracketed. 'The ancients are reprovèd for what they did without counsel from the Spirit. [When David did all by the *suggestion of the Spirit* he pleased GOD. But when he sinned Nathan *the prophet* was sent to him. Solomon spoke 3000 *parables on the coming of the Lord*, and 5000 *songs* by way of *hymn* to GOD. The Queen of the South will rise up in *judgment with Christ's generation*.] The Lord *descended to the parts* under the earth, announcing the gospel, and remission of sins. And all *who were hoping* for Him believed on Him; *righteous* men and *prophets* and *patriarchs*. All men need the glory of GOD and are *justified by looking on His light*. We should *abstain from evils*. [What shall those suffer who have *despised* the coming of the Lord? For *those who now sin*¹ Christ shall no more die, but the Son shall come in the glory of the Father, *exacting* from His stewards the money which He lent them with usury.] We ought to fear lest we find ourselves *shut out* of the kingdom. [It is one and the same GOD who judged then, and *searches out* now. *Many are called, but few chosen*.] *The fire* is eternal. GOD'S *righteousness* is the same. GOD'S

Ap xxii 6
Ap xv 3,
iv 8
i 7
1 Pet iii 19,
Ap xii 16
Ap vi 10,
xix 8, xxii
9, vii 5,
xxi 23,
xxii 15
2 Pet ii 10
Heb vi 6,
2 Pet ii 20
Ap xxii 12
Ap xxii 14
Ap ii 23
Ap xxi 8

¹ A great source of perplexity to those who had practised John's Baptism, and were accustomed to baptisms as frequent as their repentances. See chap. VIII, p. 197.

wrath is revealed from heaven. They are senseless ^{Ap xv 3,} who try to bring in another Father, saying nothing ^{xix 15} of His *judgment*, and of all that is in store for the ^{2 Pet iii 4} disobedient.' The marginal references, which might ^{2 Pet ii 9} be greatly multiplied, sufficiently shew the prophetic character of this Elder and the others. The latter appear in the last sentence to be protesting against an extreme form of interpretation of the fourth Gospel,—if not the Gospel itself, as I suppose to be the case,—for its lack of prophetic and specially eschatological elements.

Iren iv 30 1—31 1 contains two quotations (in Latin) from 'that Elder,' with a short passage introduced as 'they report.' The first quotation of four lines refers to charges brought against the Israelites for stealing from the Egyptians—the Exodus was a common prophetic theme—by men who ignore the ^{Jude 5} justifications and the dispositions of GOD. Now 'justifications' would be *δικαιώματα*, applied to GOD in Ap xv 4 and to the saints in Ap xix 8—a wholly Jewish term and idea. 'Dispositions' is either *διαθήκαι*, commonest in Heb but also in Ap xi 19: or *διαθέσεις*, see below p. 170. Here therefore we are bordering again upon prophetic ideas. The second quotation, of ten lines, is still more clearly prophetic in kind. 'By such statements did that Elder console us'—he was another Bar-nabas, son of Consolation, or Jude, ^{Jude 3} son of Rest—or he was like the Prophets of 1 Cor ^{1 Cor xiv} who exhorted or consoled: 'we must not reproach the' ³¹

Patriarchs or Prophets'; naturally, being their direct successors: 'nor be like Ham, who scoffed at his father's disgrace,' for in the last days there are scoffers
 2 Pet iii 3 who scoff exceedingly though Ham's righteous father
 2 Pet ii 5 Noah was spared from the Flood: 'and fell into the curse;' contrast *Teaching of the Apostles*, at the end
 Ap vii 12, (p. 15): 'but we must give thanks to GOD for them,
 14, xxii 14 inasmuch as their sins were forgiven them in the coming of our Lord,' when He went and preached to
 1 Pet iii 19 the spirits in prison: 'for that they glory in our
 Ap xii 12 salvation.' It is indeed remarkable how every line of this passage is crammed full of prophetic associations, and receives illustration from the limited prophetic literature that has survived. He proceeds: 'We must not become accusers, for we are not more exact than
 Ap xxii 12, GOD, nor can we be above our master, but must seek
 xviii 6 for the typical meaning,' as Jude has done eight or
 2 Pet ii 6 nine times in as many verses of his Epistle.

Iren iv 32, a Latin quotation of five lines from 'an Elder, a Disciple of the Apostles.' He declares that the two Testaments (see last page, 167) are from one and the same GOD (see p. 255 below). The world was not made by Angels: which rather suggests Heb i, ii. We are again on the outskirts of prophetic teaching.

Iren v 5, four lines of Greek from 'the Elders the disciples of the Apostles.' They 'say that those who were translated were translated thither (for paradise was prepared for righteous and inspired men, *πνευματοφόροις*—which word meets us again in Claudius

Apollinaris against the Montanists—whither also the Apostle Paul was carried and heard words unspeakable to us at least in this present life), and that they ^{2 Cor xii 4} remain there until the end of all things, preludeing immortality.' All this is prophetic in the first degree.

Iren v 30, some few lines of Greek are confirmed by the testimony of 'those who had seen John face to face.' They are not quoted, nor are they called Elders; but it is noteworthy that they are versed in the reading of our Ap xiii 18, which they testify to be 666, not 616, as some erroneously stated, for the number of the Beast according to the Greek numeration. This passage is, I think, strongly in favour of 'the Elders' being associates of the Elder. It does not decide, nor profess to decide, the question whether the Beast is to be arrived at by means of Hebrew characters or of Greek, but merely deals with the reading in the Greek Apocalypse, the only form known to us. Zahn¹ is here, I think, in error.

Iren v 33, 'As the Elders, who saw John the disciple of the Lord, remember that they had heard from him, how the Lord used to teach concerning those times, and to say: The days will come, in which vines shall grow...' (see p. 234). The Elders are here again eminently prophetic and extremely chiliastic.

Iren v 36, nine lines of Greek followed by five of Latin, by 'the Elders,' and 'the Elders the disciples of the Apostles.' 'Then they which have been deemed

¹ *Einl.* p. 622.

worthy of the abode in heaven go thither, while others
 shall enjoy the delight of paradise, and others again
 shall possess the brightness of the city : for in every
 place the Saviour shall be seen, according as they
 shall be worthy who see Him. They say moreover
 that this is the distinction between the habitation of
 them that bring forth a hundred-fold, and them that
 bring forth sixty-fold, and them that bring forth
 thirty-fold.....and that therefore our Lord has said,
In my Father's house are many mansions : for all
 things are of GOD, who giveth to all their appropriate
 dwelling, [according as His word saith that allotment
 is made unto all by the Father, according as each
 man is or shall be worthy. And this is the banquet-
 ing-table at which those shall recline who are called
 to the marriage and take part in the feast]. The
 Elders the disciples of the Apostles say that this is the
 arrangement and disposal (adordinationem et disposi-
 tionem) of them that are being saved, and that they
 advance by such steps, and ascend through the Spirit
 to the Son and through the Son to the Father, the
 Son at length yielding His work to the Father, as it
 is said also by the Apostle, *For He must reign till He
 hath put all enemies under His feet.* This passage
 again is characteristic of the Prophets from beginning
 to end. It is interesting to see that the Elders con-
 tinued, after the appearance of the Fourth Gospel
 amongst them, to avail themselves of any support
 they could find in it for their own eschatological

Ezek xxxviii
13

Mt xiii 23

Jn xiv 2

purposes; and a very suitable one they found in Jn xiv 2. 'To go to heaven' (χωρεῖν πρὸς οὐρανόν or anything like it) is not found anywhere in the N.T. applied to believers.

The Elders and the Elder.

Now the review of the above passages reveals the fact that in every case where 'the Elders the disciples of the Apostles' are quoted by Irenæus they are found to be treating of precisely the same themes as the Prophets, and carrying on the same lines of characteristic thought as 'the Elder' John. The conclusion is obvious, that they were immediately associated with him. I would go further and say that they drew their name from him, as the less from the greater, so that our 'Priest,' 'Presbyter,' 'Elder,' are the direct descendants from him in point of title. This idea may perhaps supply the missing link to the learned chain of authorities supplied by Dr Hatch in his Third Bampton Lecture of 1888.

Harnack on the Elders, Papias, and Irenæus.

The above was written before I came upon Harnack's interesting and exhaustive treatment of these Elders' passages in his *Chronologie*, pp. 333—340. I must defend Irenæus on one point, his divergence alleged by Harnack from the Elders of Iren ii 22 5 in reference to the age of our Lord. I can see no

divergence, nor any 'artful addition' by Irenæus. He says everyone admits that 'juventus,' youth, lasts till the age of 40: so at that age we do. Servius Tullius made the rule, when he ordered that soldiers aged from 17 to 46 (inclusive no doubt) should be called 'juniores,' and above that age 'seniores'.¹ Irenæus further says, 'from the 40th and 50th year,' say in most people's estimation the end of the 45th year, 'a man declines into the age of a senior, and this was our Lord's age as the Elders, &c. testify that John handed down.' I agree with Harnack in asking what can be the value of Irenæus' authorities for the early Church, if he could misplace Jesus' Death in the days of Claudius? But I think Irenæus after all is dealing fairly with his citation.

Harnack has made it highly probable that Irenæus in quoting the Elders is really quoting Papias' collection of the Elders' sayings (see pp. 107 f.). The extract about the clusters is given by Irenæus first as 'the Elders remember hearing from John,' and then as a quotation from Papias' Fourth Book. In that one case, therefore, we may surely conclude for unity of source. Further, Irenæus never says that he had been personally in contact with the Elders who had seen and heard John. Nor does he ever claim to have seen Papias. That Polycarp had seen the Elders appears from Eus v 20, Irenæus's letter to Florinus. Harnack also thinks it rather follows from the same

¹ Gell. x 28, 1.

passage that Irenæus had not. However that may be, the connexion of Papias with chiliastic notions and his fondness for anything 'traditional' of that kind is sufficiently well known, and I will now refer once more to what Eusebius tells us of the connexion between Papias and the Prophetical tradition. Eusebius *HE* iii 39 says that among the statements that had come to Papias 'from tradition' is the sojourn of Philip the Apostle and his daughters at Hierapolis. It is evident that Hierapolis is more and more likely to be what we call Hieropolis (Comana) on the Glaukus, and not Hierapolis on the Lycus, about which Bishop Lightfoot has written. At least it would be strange if one Hierapolis were the prophetic centre in one chapter concerning Papias, and the other the prophetic centre in another dealing with Claudius Apollinaris, who succeeded Papias. For Philip and his daughters are always prophetical, whichever Philip we take him to be, whether the Apostle or the Evangelist-deacon. Papias writes an Account which he received from the daughters, that in Philip's time a dead person had been raised to life. But there is another very interesting Account or Exposition of Papias, of what happened to Justus Barsabbas, the Justus of Acts i 23, how he drank a deadly poison without enduring harm, thanks to the grace of the Lord. After what has been said above (p. 147) as to the name Barsabbas, we may safely conclude that Justus, if not identical with Jude the Prophet, which I think

possible, was called by the same patronymic for the same reason in connexion with Prophecy.

Eus *H E*
iii 39

It must be borne in mind that Papias professes (p. 108) to have collected hearsay evidence, or evidence which 'came to him from unwritten tradition,' as Eusebius puts it. 'He has further quoted some strange parables of the Saviour and doctrines of His and some other rather mythical things. Among which he also says that there will be a certain millennium after the resurrection from the dead, for the kingdom of Christ is to set itself up on this our earth in bodily form. Now in these things I suppose he thought he had come into collateral possession of the Apostles' Expositions, without having really a general understanding of what they had said mystically in types.' The last word *ὑποδείγμασι* types, ensamples, is the same prophetic term which is used in 2 Pet ii 6 (see p. 149). The fact is that Papias, being himself connected with the prophetic order, or at least well versed in prophetic teaching, understood them fully in his own way, while Eusebius did not.

The Elders in The Acts.

Perhaps the reader will have already anticipated that Elders are mentioned more than once in the Acts. But perhaps he may not have observed that they are mentioned in Acts ii 17, for there the R.V. has concealed from him the fact that the old men, on

whom the Spirit of prophecy is poured forth, so that they dream dreams, are Elders. We have already seen how the Author of 'Barnabas' addresses his prophetic readers as 'sons and daughters,' in reference to this very quotation from Joel. The Elders delighted to find in it the charter of their office. Elder was Prophet, and Prophet was Elder. Thus when the disciples at Antioch received the Prophet Agabus who 'signified in the Spirit' (the same words as Ap i 1, 10) the approaching famine, and accordingly determined to send relief to the brethren that dwelt in Judæa, they naturally sent forth the Prophet Barnabas, and Saul with him, and naturally sent him to the Elders of Jerusalem. When Barnabas and Acts xi 30 Paul had turned their faces to revisit the disciples of Lystra, Iconium, and Pisidian Antioch, they naturally 'laid their hands' on Elders in every Church. xiv 23

The Council of Jerusalem.

We now come to the all-important controversy on circumcision at Jerusalem. Paul and Barnabas and some other members of the Church at Syrian Antioch are despatched on this question to the Apostles and Elders at Jerusalem. They received a solemn set-off from the Church at Antioch, and traversed Phœnicia and Samaria, setting forth an Account *ἐκδιηγούμενοι*. Is an Account *διήγησις*, then, a Prophetic term, as used afterwards by Papias, who had set himself to collect

Lk i 1 in Five Books the oral traditional Accounts of Apostles and those who had heard them? I have no doubt it is, and also that when St Luke used the term he used it correctly of an oral traditional Account of the doings and sayings of the great Prophet who had visited His people. The envoys reported the conversion of the heathen, and caused great joy to all the brethren. On reaching Jerusalem they were welcomed by the Church and the Apostles and the Elders, and announced all that GOD had done with their aid. They met however with opposition on the part of some Christians of the sect of the Pharisees, who urged that they must circumcise their converts and charge them to keep the law of Moses.

Peter's Speech prophetic.

Acts i 23 The council is held, composed of the Apostles and Elders. After much discussion Peter rose and spoke. Are there any traces in his speech of prophetic elements? In the eight lines of Greek into which his address is compressed we cannot expect to find many. But we find four or five. (1) 'GOD that knoweth the hearts' is a term only found to be used once where the prophetic usage of the lot is concerned, and where one at least of the two candidates is a Prophet himself, Justus Barsabbas (see p. 173). But the idea is exactly that of Ap ii 23, based on that of the true prophetic knowledge which belongs to GOD. See also p. 166

above¹. It will be remembered that Judas Iscariot was mentioned in connection with a Montanist Prophet's death in Asia (p. 37). The fuller description of GOD as heart-knowing is of course to be read in Hebrews which so often takes notice of current Heb iv 12 prophetical ideas, some of which it adopts. (2) Then the expression 'bore witness' is prophetical, though not of GOD, frequently of Jesus (see p. 97). (3) Then 'discerning,' 'putting a difference' is regularly prophetic (see p. 1). (4) Then 'the faith' is the faith of 1 Cor xiv 29, xii 10 the saints. (5) The 'yoke upon the neck' is a familiar Ap xiii 10, xiv 12, ii 13 etc. phrase in the mouth of the Prophets². Ap ii 3, 4 Esd ii 12, 27, Acts xxvi 14

¹ If any one doubts that the usage of the lot was connected on that occasion with prophecy, he has only to read Dan xii 12 f. 'Blessed is he that waiteth, and cometh to the 1335 days. But go thou thy way till the end: for *thou shall rest* (Bar-sabbas, son of rest), and *stand in thy lot* at the end of the days.' In Dan xii 11 it is said that from the taking away of the daily sacrifice, and (?until) the setting up of the abomination of desolation, shall be 1290 days. How this text would be applied in a prophetic meaning, we cannot even conjecture, but I venture to suggest that our information that 'the number of the names was about 120' in Acts i 15 has some purpose, and that if the number eleven is divided into 1335 we arrive at 121 and a fraction.

² It is noteworthy that in the account of Saul's conversion, xxvi 14 ff., we have the obvious compression of what was said by the voice from heaven and what was said by Ananias, who was very close to the Prophets himself, into a single account as spoken by the Lord. I conclude that the words 'it is hard for thee to kick against the goads' was really said by Ananias, as were the words of the following verses 16—18.

St James's speech prophetic.

The abstracted speech of James, the president, is of course essentially prophetic, being composed chiefly of the prophecy of Am. ix 11, 12 and a reference to Moses, the first of Prophets. The substance of the decrees resembles very closely the language of Ap. ii 14, 20, iii 18¹, xxi 8, xvi 6 (the last a horrible punishment for sinners). There is a noteworthy omission in the citation, which was doubtless made by James from the Hebrew, since he spoke in that language: 'that they may possess the remnant of Edom and of all' &c. Now it was very well known, when the Acts was written, among all Jewish students of Prophecy that Edom meant Rome. Thus: 'This is the offering that thou shalt receive from them, gold, silver, and brass, Ex. xxv 3: the gold is Babylon, the silver is Media, the brass is Greece, Dan. ii: but there is no mention of iron: Why? Because wicked Edom that wasted the sanctuary is that; to teach us that GOD in time to come will accept an offering from every kingdom except Edom².'

Now Rome was not a persecuting power when James spoke or when Acts xv was written. He avoids the unnecessary and possibly hostile reference.

The decrees are sent in the names of the Apostles and Elders, and carried by Paul and three Prophets

¹ On γυμνάσιος עריות, see Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* on Acts xv 20.

² Shemoth Rabba 152, Lightfoot, *ad loc.*

not to Asia, nor to Judæa, but to the brethren in Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia, converted from heathenism. The document is eminently practical and by no means overdone with prophetic phraseology. The Apostles and Elders shewed a very wise and large-hearted care for the gathering in of the heathen converts when they decided not to insist on circumcision or even to mention it.

St Paul and his companions.

Then follows the acute difference between Paul and his prophetic companion Barnabas. We may remark that St Mark must have been doubly related to the prophetic circle, first by his relation to Barnabas, and then by his intimacy with Peter. Nevertheless I do not feel that there is much to be said for Hausrath's opinion that St Mark was the author of the Apocalypse. Though St Paul was unable to proceed with Barnabas, he took care to keep the Prophet Silas with him, and very shortly an occasion for his prophetic powers offered itself. In Acts xvi 7 'the *spirit of Jesus*' forbade them to journey into Ap xix 10 Bithynia though they were attempting to go there. Again, a dream appeared to St Paul: a man *exhorting* Num xii 6 him, like a Prophet, and saying, 'Come into Macedonia Joel ii 28 and help us.' These touches of the historian throw great light upon the willing obedience of the strong-willed St Paul to listen to the guidance of the pro-

phetic spirit. It would seem as if he was conscious of his almost headstrong will if left to himself, and was unwilling therefore to be so left. The frequent occurrence of all sorts of conditions of spiritual possession and thralldom as at Philippi, and Ephesus, would increase his desire for the companionship of a Prophet, as an agent of that 'Spirit which searcheth all things, even the deep things of GOD.' In the same passage where he writes thus, he utters a strongly prophetic quotation, and indeed there are many others in which he shews the fullest acquaintance with all the ways of the Prophets. He has the greatest sympathy with them; if he was not one himself, he was much more than a Prophet.

St Paul at Miletus.

So entirely did he possess the confidence of the Ephesian Elders that they gladly obeyed his summons to meet him at Miletus and receive his touching farewell address. Was John among them? We cannot say. Probably he was. If so, he would be gratified to note the familiar terms of the close prophetic school to which he himself belonged. He would have heard St Paul say that he had been the *slave of the Lord* (Acts xx 19), *testifying repentance and faith* (21); that he was *bound in the spirit* (22), that *the Spirit testified* continually that *tribulations* awaited him (23), that he hoped to *perfect* his course and his

Acts xvi 16
xix 14

1 Cor ii 10

Ap xxii 9
xix 10
ii 19, 21
xxii 17
ii 10
vi 11

ministry received from the Lord Jesus (24); that he ^{Ap ii 19} had preached *the kingdom* (25); that *he testified* that ^{i 1} ^{xxii 5} he was pure from *the blood* of all (26); that he had ^{iii 4} *not shrunk*¹ from declaring to them all that was profit- ^{ii 25} able (27); that the Spirit had set them to be overseers of *the flock*, for them to *shepherd* it (28); that it had ^{ii 27} been *purchased* with blood; that grievous *wolves* ^{i 5} (that is, false-prophets as in Matt. x 16, but Rome Teaching, too was symbolized by a wolf) should come (29); ^{P. 15.} that men would arise among themselves *speaking* ^{ii 9, 20} *perverse things* (30) to draw away disciples: that they ^{iii 3} must *watch* (31); that their *inheritance* (see p. 131) ^{v 1} was ensured among the sanctified (32); that he had ^{Teaching,} ^{P. 15} coveted no man's gold, *silver*, or (33) *apparel* (see p. 14); that he had taught them *to labour* (35), and ^{ii 2} gave them an oral saying of Jesus, *an oracle*, for a ^{xxii 6} motto. There is not a verse in this unique speech of St Paul that has not some word to gratify and kindle the intense prophetic ardour of John the Elder.

The name 'Elders' in the Acts.

But it will be asked here, If these Elders already existed, why should it be assumed that John the Elder had anything special about him? Why suppose that he had been a member of the Sanhedrim?

¹ *Shrinking* is the opposite of *Faith*, as we learn only from Heb x 38, 39 quoting LXX of Hab ii 4, where the force is entirely lost unless the LXX be consulted. The passage in Acts xx 27 may well puzzle us without the references here given.

How can we suppose that the Elders in the early chapters of the Acts who had nothing to do with this Ephesian John were called after him? My answer is that John's connection with the Sanhedrim rests upon its own evidence (see pp. 126 ff.), and that the writer of Acts simply wrote reflexively about the officers of the Church in the early chapters, calling them by the name 'Elders,' which they would have borne a generation later, without meaning of necessity to imply that they were so called at the time of the events which he relates, when they were only distinguished from the Juniors or laymen.

Acts v 6

CHAPTER VIII.

SOME LEADING IDEAS OF THE APOCALYPSE.

THE suggestion made by Vischer¹ that Ap i—iii was composed later than iv—xxii appeared to me to be well worth examination, and as he did not work it out I determined to do so, though I had not before my mind at the time the theory which has been presented (see pp. 124 f.) that the latter and much larger portion of the book had brought about the writer's exile at Patmos, where the former portion was subsequently composed and addressed to the Seven Churches. It appears to me that the following comparison of various passages, for which I would ask the reader's careful consideration, completely justifies the theory. Vischer's view was that the main part of iv—xxii was composed by a Jew, and then received interpolation from the same Christian writer who prefixed i—iii and so edited the work in its present form. Like many other writers, Vischer had

¹ Eberhard Vischer, *Die Offenbarung Johannis, eine Jüdische Apocalypse in Christlicher Bearbeitung, mit einem Nachwort von Adolf Harnack*, in *Texte u. Untersuchungen*, 1886.

rather ignored the function of the Prophets and the prophetic character of the Apocalypse. Harnack has however followed him, adding that iv—xxii was composed by more than one Jew, and that the interpolator is the author of the Fourth Gospel and the Elder, but not the son of Zebedee.

The passages cited are roughly divided into those which seem to me to furnish (A) more probable, and (B) less probable, support to the above suggestion.

A. (1)

Apoc ii 23 And I will give unto each one of you according to your works. This is said of the immorality *πορνεία* at Thyatira and its followers.

Compare xviii 6 Render unto her even as she rendered, and double the double according to her works. This is said of Babylon and her *πορνεία* (3). Similarly Ps cxxxvii 8 of Babylon, Jer 1 29, 15 of Babylon. The original use therefore of the quotations was naturally of Babylon, from which the author extended it to Jezebel. For though Jezebel's *πορνεία* is mentioned in 2 K ix 22, she is punished primarily and especially for her blood-shedding 1 K xxi 19, 23; 2 K ix 31, 36.

(2)

iii 1 He that hath the seven spirits of GOD.

Compare iv 5 And (there were) seven lamps of fire burning before the throne, which are the seven spirits of GOD.

Compare v 6 A lamb having...seven eyes, which are the seven spirits of GOD, sent forth into all the earth.

The original is in Zech iv 10 Those seven (lamps) are the eyes of the Lord which run to and fro through the whole earth; iv 2 I have looked and behold a candlestick all of gold with a bowl on the top of it, and his seven lamps thereon, and seven pipes to the seven lamps, which are upon the top thereof.

The first identification is: Lamps are eyes of the Lord. But the Lord is of spiritual nature. Thus we get the second identification: His eyes are spirits. Zech iv 7
Ap v 6

Combining the two statements we infer thirdly: Lamps are spirits. Fourthly, we arrive at the latest Ap iv 5 inference: But as lamps can be held in the hand, so Ap iii 1,
i 16 can spirits.

As to the expression in i 4 'and from the seven spirits which are before his throne,' it may safely be said that no one could write this who had not the vision of iv 5 before him.

(3)

iii 7 These things saith he that is holy, he that is true, he that hath the key of David.

Compare vi 10 saying, How long, O Master, the holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?

Compare Ps xciv 3 Lord, how long shall the wicked triumph?

Compare Is xxii 22 The key of the house of

David will I lay upon his shoulder ; so he shall open, and none shall shut.

Compare Lk xviii 6 ff And the Lord said, Hear what the unrighteous judge saith. And shall not GOD avenge his elect, which cry to him day and night, and he is longsuffering over them ? I say unto you, that he will avenge them speedily. Howbeit when the Son of Man cometh, shall he find faith on the earth ?

The interest of Lk xviii 6 ff is that it is an oracle or saying of the Lord. It begins εἶπεν δὲ ὁ Κύριος : cf. Lk xxii 25, 31 (ADQ^N Tregelles) xvii 6, xii 42, and like so many others is prophetic, and was a portion of the treasure of words of the Lord which the Prophets guarded. The 'cry' of Lk xviii 7 is parallel with the cry with a loud voice in Ap vi 10. See p. 8, col. 1.

It would seem that vi 10 had the full drift of Ps xciv beneath it, and that iii 7 was written later. For (1) Ps xciv deals with the chastisement of the heathen, while iii 7 refers to the chastisement of certain Jews. (2) 'The holy and the true' suits better with the idea of vengeance in Ps xciv and Ap vi than with that of iii 10 I will keep thee from the hour of trial. (3) In vi 10 it is of GOD, to whom it originally belongs ; in iii 7 it is transferred to Christ.

(4)

iii 12 He that overcometh, I will make him a pillar in the sanctuary of my GOD, and he shall go out thence no more.

Compare xxi 3 Behold, the tabernacle of GOD is with men, and he shall dwell with them, and they shall be his peoples (or people), and GOD himself shall be with them.

The idea of a pillar in iii 12 seems to be based on xxi 3 which is part of the first ending of our Apocalypse (see next page) because the Philadelphian 'who overcometh' is connected with worship, and his opponents will be brought to the true worship. It cannot be that he will be made a pillar in the sanctuary of the New Jerusalem as described in the second ending of our Apocalypse, because there is to be none; xxi 22 I saw no temple therein, for the Lord...and the Lamb are the temple of it. It is possible that this consideration points to the second and more elaborate ending, with its insistence on the number 12, and its extension of Ez xxviii 13, being of later composition than i—iii. Ap xxi 12,
14, 16, 21,
xxii 2

(5)

iii 12, (a) and I will write upon him the name of my GOD, and the name of the city of my GOD, (b) the New Jerusalem, which cometh down out of heaven from my GOD, (a) and my own new name.

(b) Compare xxi 10 And he carried me away in the spirit to a mountain great and high, and shewed me the city, the holy Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from GOD.

Compare xxi 2 And I saw the city, the holy

Jerusalem, new, coming down out of heaven from GOD, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband.

Whatever be the precise relation of xxi 2 to xxi 10,—a question not so easy to determine¹—we must hold

¹ But I think it is clear that we have a double ending to Ap as it stands. The following arrangement will exhibit what I believe was the earlier double form of the Seer's prophecies in the last two chapters beginning after Ap xxi 1 :

A

xxi 2.
xxii 3, 4, 5.
xxi 3 to 6*a*, come to pass.
xxii 7.
xxi 6*b* to 8 end.

B

xxi 9 And there came... to
xxii 2 ...nations.
xxii 6.
xxii 8 And I John... to 15
...maketh a lie.

xxii 16—21 is the close of either ending.

In short, xxi 2—8 is parallel with xxi 9—xxii 15, except that the latter portion contains the full description of the new Jerusalem by way of extending the account of the Sabbath-rest, and that out of it are to be removed some verses which are tautological where they stand in our Bible, while they are almost necessary to the sense of A. Thus *the future verbs* of xxii 3—5 are now joined on to the future verbs of xxi 3, 4. The *throne of God* is introduced into xxi 2*f* where its mention is required, and removed from xxii 3 where it is absurdly tautologous after xxii 1. Again, the *tautology* of xxii 5*a* after xxi 25 is avoided, while xxii 3—5 is useful after xxi 2. 'They have no need of candle' is tautologous in xxii just after xxi 23, but makes good sense at the beginning of xxi. Moreover either account will now have *Behold I come...* followed by *Blessed is he...* instead of one account having them twice over. Either account has *These words are..., I am the Alpha...* and the *exclusion of the wicked* classes at the close. Perhaps also the invitation to *him that is athirst* in xxii 17 should be transposed earlier, in order to correspond more closely with that of xxi 6. The cause of the dislocation may have been some accident to the autograph of the book, or a later addition in Patmos, or some other reason. But it is noteworthy that in our Bible 'the Lamb' occurs nowhere in xx 11—xxi 8, and occurs seven times in xxi 9—xxii 5. One of these seven mentions I should place in A, leaving six in B.

that xxi 2 was certainly in the mind of the writer of iii. The full picture is not developed later in order to explain the reference to its part, but the part presupposes the existence of the whole picture.

(a) Compare vii 3 until we have sealed the servants of our GOD on their foreheads.

Compare xiv 1 having his (the Lamb's) name, and his Father's name written on their foreheads.

Compare xxii 3, 4 and his servants shall do him service; and they shall see his face; and his name (shall be) on their foreheads.

Compare Is xlv 5 One shall say, I am the Lord's, and another shall call himself by the name of Jacob... This text would not seem to be in John's mind but that the next verse in Isaiah contains 'I am the first and I am the last,' which occurs in Ap xxii 13.

Compare Ez xlviii 35 And the name of the city from that day shall be, 'The Lord is there.'

Compare Is lxii 2 Thou shalt be called by a new name, which the mouth of the Lord shall name.

It is observable that there are three stages of thought here:

(a) seal...upon their foreheads: cf. Ez ix 4, Ap vii 3.

(b) his name upon their foreheads (with no verb at all) xxii 4.

(c) with his name and his Father's written upon their foreheads xiv 1.

After which comes iii 12 adding 'the name of the city.'

(6)

iii 21 He that overcometh, I will give to him to sit down with me in my throne, as I also overcame, and sat down with my Father in his throne.

Compare Jn xvii 21—23 for the sense, but not the image.

Compare iv 2 After this I beheld, and behold a throne was set in heaven, and upon the throne one sitting.

The end of iii seems to have been adapted to form the transition to iv, especially when we compare 'the door' iii 20 with 'a door' iv 1, where of course the door is different, being merely the means by which John enters heaven. It seems plain that in writing iii 21 John was conscious that iv 1 was lying before him, written.

B. (1)

i 4 from him which is and which was and which cometh.

Compare the fuller praise of iv 8.

Compare xi 17 we give thee thanks, O Lord GOD, the Almighty, which art and which wast; because thou hast taken thy great power, and didst reign. So xvi 5 which art and which wast.

In iv 8 GOD is still 'coming' to judgment. In xi 17 He has 'come,' and hence the triumph-song of xi 15 Come (to pass) is the kingdom! By xvi 5 the sentence of judgment is gone forth. Hence in the

latter places 'and which comest' is omitted. In xvii the sentence is being announced by the angel. But in i 4 John naturally prefixes 'and which cometh' in accordance with iv 8.

(2)

i 16 and out of his mouth a sharp two-edged sword proceeding. (There is no construction of these words either with the 'having' which precedes, or with the following 'and his countenance shineth.')

Compare ii 16 I will make war against them with the sword of my mouth.

Compare xix 15 And out of his mouth (the warrior-chieftain The Word of GOD, which has not the faintest resemblance to John i 1) proceedeth a sharp sword, that with it he may smite the nations: and he shall shepherd them with a rod of iron...21 and the rest were killed with the sword of him that sat on the horse, (the sword) which came forth out of his mouth.

Compare the originals Ps ii 9, LXX, Thou shalt shepherd them (the heathen) with a rod of iron.

And Ps cxlix 6, 7 Let the praises of GOD be in their throat and a two-edged sword in their hand; to execute vengeance upon the heathen, and punishments upon the people.

It is evident that the sword has a full meaning in xix where the picture of the armed horseman is complete. In i the figure is not on horseback, but the

garment down to the foot betokens the Judge¹ of Daniel vii 9. The ideas of the Psalmist have come into Ap i, ii through the picture of Ap xix, which was written before i, ii.

The fact that the Judge in i 16 is furnished with a sharp two-edged sword proceeding out of His mouth may well suggest that the explanation given on p. 83 above is wrong, and that we must admit after all that the Word of GOD there is Messiah advancing to His ruthless and gruesome work of slaughter, and is also identical with the Judge of i 16. Nevertheless I am disposed to think there is a difference between the two passages. In xix 15 the Warrior's sword is sharp, with an edge for smiting the heathen. But in i 16 the phraseology is extended from xix, for the Judge's sword is *two-edged*, the second edge being intended for the rebellious within the Church. So says Ps

¹ With Lightfoot on *Ign. Mag.* 9 and against Zahn, *Einl.* ii p. 604, I think we should hold that 'the Lord's Day' in Ap i 10 does not mean Sunday, the Resurrection Day, but the Day of Judgment of the Lord. In 57 A.D. the expression *κυριακή* had not come into use for the first day of the week: had it done so, we should expect to find it in 1 Cor xvi 2. Those who hold the Domitianic date of Ap will contend for the meaning 'Sunday' here. But there is nothing to shew that the Seer would originate any new terminology in the Church, and everything to shew that he would be conservative. In view of ii 9 and iii 9 is it likely that he would single out the first day of the week as the most important? Yet the seventh day is not called 'the Lord's day.' On the contrary, if we translate 'the Judgment Day,' the presence of the Judge of Daniel vii 9 is natural enough. The '*Teaching*' has the remarkable expression *κατὰ κυριακὴν κυρίου* 'on the Lord's day of the Lord.'

cxlix 7 *b* 'and punishments upon the people,' i.e. of Israel. This may seem fanciful, but we must remember that every word of the O.T. would to the Seer be crowded with meaning. Two figures bearing different swords, though either sword proceeds out of the mouth, and fulfils a like purpose, are not of necessity to be identified as one person.

(3)

i 14 and his eyes as a flame of fire (no verb).

Compare xix 12 (the same) from Daniel x 6, which has 'lamps' instead of 'flame.'

(4)

ii 11 shall not be hurt of the second death.

Compare xx 14 This is the second death, the lake of fire. So xxi 8. The passage in xx was written first.

(5)

ii 17 a white stone, and upon the stone a new name written, which no man knoweth but he that receiveth it.

Compare Zech iii 9 Behold the stone that I have laid before Joshua: upon one stone seven eyes: behold I will engrave the graving thereof....

Compare Ap xix 12 he hath a name written which no man knoweth but he himself.

Here the comparison of 'himself' xix 12 and 'he that receiveth it' ii 17 is very suggestive of xix 12

being the original, and ii 17 derived from it. The 'new name' is from Is lxii 2, Heb, and Is lxv 15, LXX.

(6)

ii 26, 27 He that overcometh, and he that keepeth my works unto the end, to him will I give authority over the nations (heathen); and he shall shepherd them with a rod of iron, as the vessels of the potter are broken to shivers.

Compare xii 5 And she was delivered of a son, a man child, who is to shepherd all the nations with a rod of iron.

Compare xix 15 quoted above, p. 191.

Compare Ps ii 8, 9.

Here ii 26 is the fuller quotation, including Ps ii 8 *b*, while xii 5 and xix 15 give only Ps ii 9. In xix 15 'strike' is an imperfect translation by John of the Heb נִפֵּץ. In xii 5 and xix 15 the Ps ii is most appropriate. But how does it harmonise with the ideas of ii 26? It is there unnecessary, and indeed out of place. If we omit all the words after 'heathen,' we obtain good sense undisturbed; for the following words 'as I...morning star' bear direct relation to the heading of the letter 'He that hath his eyes as a flame of fire.' 'Star' is from Daniel xii 3. It seems that the idea is that of Daniel xii 3, and may be expressed thus: He that overcometh and keepeth my works shall be rewarded by shining as the brightness of the firmament, and shall turn many (heathen) to

the righteousness of GOD'S own people, as many and as bright as the stars, over whom he shall be a shepherd, wielding the authority given me by my Father when he said to me, Thou art my Son, &c. Ps ii 7, 8 But the verse following completely upsets the con- Ps ii 9 text. The converted heathen are not to be 'shattered in pieces,' but to be tended as lambs and tender sheep of the flock. No wonder we have a deliberate correction of this terrible sentence offered us in John xxi 15—17! It was needed. But how did the terrible sentence come into the passage at all? The writer (or I would fain think the early copyist) was so familiarised with the quotation in its true Messianic sense in xii and xix that he allowed it to follow in ii 26 also, at the cost of interrupting the context and destroying the sense.

Did John the Seer hold the Baptism of John?

There is a passage in the history of the Acts to which I will now refer as possibly connected with the labours of John the Elder in Ephesus during the years preceding 68 A.D. The inference from it is somewhat conjectural, and if it does not commend itself to the reader, it will at any rate not militate strongly against the theory here maintained that the Elder wrote the Apocalypse. In Acts xix 1—7 we have an account of some Christian disciples whom Apollos found at Ephesus. They had—like Apollos himself who had the Acts xviii prophetic gift and had perhaps belonged to their body ²⁵

—received John's Baptism without ever having heard that there was a Holy Spirit. The question arises how this form of baptism had made its way to Asia Minor. It is quite likely that it was brought by John the Elder. That he preached and practised Baptism of Repentance is plain from his frequent insistence on Repentance ii 5, 21, iii 3, 19. The white garments of iii 18 seem to be closely connected with 19: while the eye-salve is probably something more material than a mere reference to Ps xix 9 would imply. It was the outward use of the sacred oil, or chrism, which Tertullian tells us distinctly was used in his time immediately after baptism. He says: 'After stepping out of the laver we are anointed duly (*perungimur*) with the blessed unction according to the ancient discipline, by which they were wont to be anointed to the priesthood by oil from the horn¹.' If Tertullian speaks of the ancient discipline, of which he was always so conservative, in prophecy as in other matters, what reason is there to doubt that I Jn ii 20 refers to the same outward practice? Bp Westcott says, "There is not any evidence to shew that 'the chrism' was used at confirmation in the first age." And perhaps he would not accept Ap iii 18 as a reference to it, but I venture to think that it is such, plainly enough. The observation however that should also be made is this: Ap does not notice the inner meaning of the ceremony so fully as I Jn ii, which

¹ *De Bapt.* 7, quoted by Westcott on I Jn ii 20.

indeed was written in order to correct the inadequacy of Ap iii 18. The whole verse is about baptism; the 'gold' is there put for what is better than gold—the fear of the Lord or faith, the garments and chrism are ^{Job xxviii} properties of the baptised. There is no reason to ²⁸ suppose that John's baptism was administered only once in a life-time; it was probably as frequent as repentance¹. On the other hand Ap xvi 15 is a passage which does not refer to baptism, but to the duties of priests to watch their own cleanliness and neatness of apparel. It was a deadly offence not to have their apparel complete and clean².

The Holy Spirit in Apocalypse.

There are many other references in Ap to repentance, but it will be urged that it is inconceivable that the author should not have insisted on the teaching of 'the Holy Ghost' to his disciples. It is however not quite inconceivable. He himself believed in the plurality of spirits who were holy. It is a fact that

¹ This I think is made certain by the plural ('baptisms,' not 'washings') used in Heb vi 2, and the conviction grows upon one that the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews is Apollos himself, whose Alexandrine touch is visible on every page, and whose preparatory equipment in prophetic knowledge is frequently apparent, together with a standpoint which is no longer merely prophetic. The transition from the frequent baptisms under John's Baptism to Christian Baptism is the only way to explain Heb vi 1—8. Cf. x 22.

² Sanhedrin 83, 1.

'the Holy Spirit' is never mentioned as such in Ap. On the contrary in i 4 where John prays grace and mercy from GOD and from Jesus Christ he mentions in the second place 'the seven spirits that are before his throne.' So iii 1, iv 5, v 6; and in xxii 6 GOD is 'the GOD of the spirits of the Prophets.' So xxii 17. Consequently we are quite entitled to infer that when he says 'Hear what the spirit saith unto the churches' he means the spirit in himself (as i 10, iv 2, xiv 13, xvii 3, xix 10, xxi 10) as Prophet, one of the spirits of xxii 6. We have no right to print this word with S in one place in Ap more than in another, nor may we prejudice the question by importing the belief of a later time. It is likely that the Elder had not, when he wrote, passed into a clear idea of the unity of the Spirit, and that he regarded its plural manifestations as signs of its nature, ignoring it as a Person. We ourselves usually fail to realise the effect of the neuter term *πνεῦμα* upon the mind, as compared with that of the masculine term Spiritus, which has impressed our Western Christianity. Lastly, these Ephesian men, who numbered about twelve, had been instructed in Prophecy, for as soon as St Paul laid his hands upon them, they were speaking with tongues and prophesying. The Elder's influence was not lost.

The Elder's references to the Apostles.

Perhaps it should here be observed, as it has been by many writers, that the author of Ap never calls himself an Apostle, and speaks of the Apostles in such an objective way that one can hardly think that he belongs to the Twelve. 'Upon the twelve foundations were the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb.' 'Rejoice over her, O heaven, and the Saints Ap xxi 14 and the Apostles and the Prophets.' Of these two xviii 20, cf. ii 2 passages the former at least must be a stumbling-block to any who hold that the writer was an Apostle, one of the Twelve. It is vain to appeal to such a passage as Eph ii 20 as a parallel. There the idea is that of the foundation laid by the Apostolic body as charged collectively with the great historical work. Here it is that of individual names being posted and honoured with eternal distinction. As to the second passage, it appears that the writer distinguished the Apostles from the Prophets, with precedence for the former; while we may suppose that he mentions the Saints first as the multitude of believers who are guided by the two orders which he mentions next. It would seem that 'the Saints and the Apostles and the Elders,'—and Elder is Prophet (see p. 175),—would have expressed the entire Church of those days (see p. 178), and conveyed exactly the same meaning as the text. But had the date been 98, would it have been possible to omit the Bishops? We have therefore to

choose between a self-conscious author recording his own name on the foundations of the New Jerusalem if he were the Apostle, and one who honours the Apostles as a higher order than his own if he is the Elder. In the latter case we can understand his address in 2 Jn 1 and 3 Jn 1 as the Elder. In the former case we cannot.

The omission of Dan from the Twelve Tribes.

Any attentive reader of Ap vii must have been struck by the fact that the tribes of Israel are given there as 12, but the number is attained by the omission of Dan, and the substitution of Manasseh for him. There can be no right for Manasseh to come in by himself as well as under Joseph. Simcox says, after referring to several wholly unsatisfactory explanations: 'Probably there is a reason, but we had better confess that we do not know it.' But those who are not content to sit down with folded hands in front of a difficulty will examine the Jewish ideas which have gathered round the Holy Scripture of the O.T. and which represent in many cases much older thoughts than the date of their committal to writing. Now Rabba, born in 250 A.D. at Hini, near Pumbaditha in Babylonia, began the collection of Palestinian Hagadoth on Genesis, which has come down to us under the name of Bereshith Rabbah¹. It tells us of Dan:

¹ B. R. on Gen xlix 16; Schöttgen, *Hor. Heb.* p. 98.

‘This is Messiah who is to judge, like GOD Holy and Blessed, who is One. Dan shall judge his people, as *one* of the tribes of Israel. For just as GOD judges without hearing and without seeing, so does Messiah, as is proved by Is xi 3.’ Let us now look at the Targum (i.e. interpretation) of Onkelos, who used to be called a proselyte from heathenism, and a disciple of Gamaliel, and was a well-qualified Hebrew and Chaldee scholar, and reputed a correct theologian of the age of John the Elder. He says on Gen xlix 16 ‘From the house of Dan will be chosen and will arise a man in whose days his people shall be delivered, and in whose years the tribes of Israel have rest together. A chosen man will arise from the house of Dan, the terror of whom shall fall upon the peoples.’ The terms ‘chosen,’ ‘delivered,’ ‘rest,’ are sufficiently Messianic for any understanding. But it does not say that Dan *is* the Messiah, and its origin is not Palestine but Babylonia. Then we turn to the Targum of Palestine, commonly entitled the Targum of Jonathan ben Uzziel, on Genesis. He was reputed a disciple of Hillel the Elder, who died A.D. 8, and if so he was somewhat earlier than John the Elder. This Targum says on Gen xlix 16 of Dan: ‘*He will be the deliverer* who is to arise, strong will he be and elevated above all kingdoms....Our father Jakob said, My soul hath not waited for the redemption of Gideon son of Joash which is for an hour, nor for the redemption of Shimshon (Samson) which is a creature redemption, but

for the Redemption which Thou hast said in Thy Word shall come for Thy people the sons of Israel, for this Thy Redemption my soul hath waited' (see Gen. xlix 18). There is some confusion between the Targum of Jerusalem and that of Jonathan, but it is very remarkable that the Palestinian idea that Dan was to be Messiah is older than John, and shews the divergence from the Babylonian line of interpretation, that he should produce Him from his tribe. The traditional view¹ was that the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan were written about A.D. 50, but this view is now given up². It appears to be possible that John the Elder had heard or seen the Targum; and

¹ See Schürer i 1, p. 156 E. T.

² Zunz changed his mind in 1832 about the date of the Onkelos and Jonathan Targums, and is followed by Schiller-Szinessy, whose articles in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* on *Targums, Talmud, Mishnah, &c.*, are of the first importance, and referred to by Dr Stanton, *Jewish and Christian Messiah*. Dr Schiller-Szinessy says, 'The Targums have only one thing in common,—all of them rest on oral traditions, which are hundreds of years older than the earliest form of the written Targums now in our hands.' *E. B.* vol. xxiii p. 63. He suggests that 'Onkelos is a deliberate perversion of Evangelus, a Greek proper name which exactly translates the Babylonian-Jewish name Mebasser...It must be remembered that Hillel and other great fountains of Palestinian learning were of Babylonian origin...Several of the pieces formerly found in the Jerusalem Targum (now in *T. Yonathan*) were in the 2nd and 3rd centuries distinctly quoted with disapprobation....The *T. Yonathan on the Pentateuch* is Palestinian, and was undertaken to combine the finest parts of what early *T. Onkelos* and *T. Yerushalmi* contained' (*ib.* p. 64). Here then in the Targums are the words quoted above, which certainly did not come into them from the Apocalypse, and probably embody what was taught centuries before the Targums assumed their present form.

to be certain that the identification of Dan with Messiah had begun before he wrote. And this I have no doubt is the reason why he has omitted Dan in his list of the tribes. His proper place is after Naphtali, and there is put Manasseh instead. Dan, the Judge¹,

¹ Since writing the above I have referred to the most interesting and learned, though somewhat confusing, work of W. Bousset, *Der Antichrist*, Göttingen, 1895 (well translated by Mr A. H. Keane, F.R.G.S., 1896); to which I thank my friend Dr M. R. James for introducing me. Bousset however seems to start with Irenæus and Hippolytus, and I hold that these writers, followed by a crowd of later ones, have only darkened counsel by absurd and *à priori* conclusions. Hippolytus however does start with the dim idea that somehow Christ was a lion (Keane p. 25), and proceeds, 'A lion is Antichrist' &c., the process being sometimes reversed, and properties assumed from some scriptural or other ground to be Antichrist's being attributed to Christ:

in other words they reason that if Christ be x , Antichrist is $\frac{1}{x}$. I do not see why Bousset says 'The Lord gave a seal' &c. is inferred by contrast from Antichrist. It is surely plainly given in Ap vii 3 &c. But the fact of Antichrist being expected to be Dan (as also he was a lamb), for which reason Dan comes in for severe treatment, is only another proof to me that somehow Hippolytus had got the echo of the idea that Christ was of Dan or was Dan himself. Between 70 and 220 much water had flowed under the prophetic bridge, and the ideas which must in every age contribute to the conception or interpretation of Antichrist were greatly altered. We cannot possibly hope to gain accurate explanation of the Apostles' meaning from a study of the Fathers of 170 onwards. Their intellectual light was dim at first, and it became darker and darker. Bousset's statement (p. 30 E. T.) that 'the eschatological revelations have been passed on, not in written records but in oral tradition, as an esoteric doctrine handled with fear and trembling,' is an assumption absolutely fatal to historical inquiry into the original meaning of an early document. We might as well say that the Vatican interpretation of the mistranslation 'unum ovile et unus pastor' was justified as the original meaning of *μια ποιμνὴ εἰς ποιμήν*. Thus when Bousset quotes Iren v 30 'And for this reason (because Antichrist

is gone to judge his people; and instead of there being 12,000 of his tribe sealed, it may be that we are presented instead with 'the great multitude which no man can number,' but of this last I do not feel so sure.

Ap vii 9

The Lamb.

However there is now a still more interesting enigma to solve, and we are already provided with the solution in the above remarks on Dan. The figure of the Lamb is naturally one of the most mysterious and baffling features of the book. It appeared to most readers of Vischer's theory that to eliminate the Lamb from the Apocalypse, and to assign to a Christian interpolator all the passages in which the Lamb is mentioned, was a bold proceeding in itself, indeed much worse than to leave the play of *Hamlet* without the ghost. What weakened the theory still more was that Vischer admitted he was unable to suggest what had been there before the supposed interpolation took its place. Nevertheless Vischer came very near the mark when he suggested that the passage in Ap v 4—6, as we read it, leads us to expect that the Lion is about to open the Book. Moreover he says, what is true, that a Lion might well was expected to come of his tribe) Dan is not numbered in Ap among the saved,' I think he is arguing just the wrong way. Irenæus was *unaware* of the ideas of Ap and of the Jewish ideas of 100 years earlier than his own time, and jumped at a conclusion. Bousset's Art. Apocalypse in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, ed. Cheyne and Black, should be read by all who are interested in the subject.

have seven horns and seven eyes as a symbol of exceeding strength in a strong animal¹. And lastly he suggests that the very singular word *ἀρνίον* for Lamb may have some connection with the Hebrew for Lion, *אַרְיֵה* or *אַרְיָה*, and even be a sort of transliteration of it, with of course a change of sense. I think if he had seen the solution of the omission of Dan from the list of tribes and the Messianic meaning of it, he would have gone further and observed that in the song of Moses Dan is distinctly called a lion's whelp. It is impossible to doubt that here is the clue to the puzzle.

Here again we come upon very remarkable traces in Ap i and xix of the influence of the Targums. The Targum of Onkelos on Gen xlix Judah says: 'Of ^{Deut xxxiii} goodly purple will be his (Messiah's) raiment, and his ²² vesture of wool dyed bright with colours': cf. Ap xix 14, also i 14, though the latter may be quite accounted for by Daniel vii. The Palestine Targum is as before much nearer: 'How beauteous is the King Messiah! Binding his loins and going forth to war against them that hate him, he will slay kings with princes, and make the rivers red with the blood of their slain, and his hills white with the fat of their mighty ones'

¹ Bousset, E. T. p. 108, observes that even in the late Jewish tradition represented by the Book of Zorobabel and the Mysteries of Simon (? 1050 A.D.) 'there is much more in common with Ap than is found in the Christian tradition.' The Christian fathers took lines of their own. Thus Hippolytus: Dan is a serpent. But the serpent beguiled Eve. Therefore &c., Bousset, p. 140.

(instead of which the peaceable and literal Targum of Onkelos interprets the red as of vineyards, and the valleys as white with corn and sheep), 'his garments will be dipped in blood, and he himself like the juice of the winepress.' Afterwards it draws a picture of peace like the other, but it is warlike first. Now this is obviously the original of Ap xix 13 'his garment dipped in blood.'

So far from there being in vii 6 a trace of a purely Jewish Apocalypse altered and translated and interpolated by a Christian, the view that commends itself to me is rather this. John the Elder knew, when he wrote the Apocalypse, that Dan and also Judah were Messianic figures: out of Judah the lion Shiloh should come at last: he therefore identified Dan as the lion's whelp of Deuteronomy with Shiloh of Gen xlix 10, where LXX has τὰ ἀποκείμενα αὐτῷ. He also knew that אַרְיָה, lion, in sound resembled the Latin *aries*, ram, and he deliberately put the strange Greek word ἀρνίον for it: and the ἀρνίον, which has hitherto been ἀποκείμενον, 'stored away,' as we are to suppose, he places now ἐν μέσῳ, produced *in the midst*¹ for all to see. But where did he obtain the word ἀρνίον? There is only one possible source, Jer xi 19 LXX ἐγὼ δὲ ὡς ἀρνίον ἄκακον ἀγόμενον τοῦ θύεσθαι οὐκ ᾔγνων, 'but I was like an innocent lamb brought to be slaughtered and I knew it not.' The context in LXX

¹ Zahn says 'half way up the throne,' but I think the true explanation is given above.

continues in a purport most remarkably and quaintly apposite to the crucifixion of the Lord Jesus: 'They devised against me a wicked device, saying, Come and let us cast a tree ('cross' Acts v 30, x 39, xiii 29, Gal⁵¹ iii 13) upon his bread, and let us bruise him from the land of the living, and his name shall be no more remembered. O Lord who judgest righteously, who triest reins and hearts, let me see thy vengeance upon them, for unto thee I reveal my righteous cause.' The Lamb is to him, as to us, the symbol of innocence, obedience and sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, while it corresponds to and fulfils the Messianic predictions of the time. The very juxtaposition of the Lion¹ and the Lamb was in accordance with Messianic Prophecy. Finally we observe that the idea of a ram, which might have been suggested as a type of strength, and which was suggested by Daniel viii 2 ff LXX *κριὸν ἕνα μέγαν ἐστῶτα ἀπέναντι τῆς πύλης*, standing before the gate, with which Heb xiii 12 presents a remarkably attractive parallel, is entirely left on one side by John the Elder. It is however a question whether the idea of 'standing' Ap v 6 is not derived at the same time from this very passage Daniel viii 2. The perfect participle *ἐστώς* appears hardly anywhere in the LXX, and there is no other imaginable

cf. Lk xxiii

51

cf. Lk xiv

15

cf. Is liii 5

cf. Is liii 8

Is xi 6

¹ Vischer aptly compares *Testamentum Josephi* 19 'And he saw that out of Judah was born a virgin, having a linen robe; and from her came forth a lamb without blemish, and from his left side as it were a lion.' But the amount of Christian interpolation in this work is so doubtful that we cannot base any inference on it at present.

origin for it. The words 'as having been slain' are suggested of course by Jer xi 19. The Lamb is also 'standing' in Ap xiv 1.

The Angel or Messenger of the Church.

The explanation of the Angel of the Church in Ephesus &c. is simple enough and in accordance with the Jewish associations of the Author, though it throws no further light upon his special position as an ex-member of the Sanhedrim. Zahn has drawn attention to the treasure of Talmudic knowledge in Schöttgen's *Horae Hebraicae*¹, which (p. 1089) contains an account of the Messenger or Legate of the Church (שליח ציבור). His function was to be what 1 Pet v 2 calls 'an ensample of the flock.' 'The messenger of the Church induces on all the rest the obligation of doing the same².' 'On the new year and the day of Atonement the Angel of the Church begins the prayers in order to lead the rest to a like obligation³.' An instance is found in Ex xxxiv 6 'The Lord, the Lord GOD...' to shew that GOD appeared like an Angel of the Church to shew Moses how to lead the prayers, which the congregation were to repeat in silence after him⁴. To do this, he stood before the Ark containing the Law. 'How long are prayers for rain to be continued? Until the Angel of

¹ Alas there is no Lightfoot *Hor. Heb.* on Ap!

² R. Gamliel.

³ Gemara 34, 2.

⁴ Rosh hashana 17, 2.

the Church has passed the first time (in front of the ark); this he does on the first day of the Passover¹. After prayers came the lesson, which he read with a clear, strong voice. He also gives rubrical directions; e.g. 'Let the people give thanks.' They respond, 'We give thanks to thee, O Lord our GOD, that we are able to give thee thanks.' He is not to call the priest to give the blessing till the whole Church has said Amen after the prayers. In the priest's absence he gave the blessing himself, turning first to the centre 'The Lord bless thee,' then to the right 'and keep thee,' to draw the thread of grace over the whole people, then to the left 'The Lord make His face &c.'² His qualifications are, according to R. Jehuda³, 'To have many children and no money: to work hard on the soil, yet have his house empty (this is said by Raf to mean 'empty of sins'): to be of sound age, and humble, popular, well-mannered: to have a good voice: to be practised in the study of the law, the prophets, and the psalms: able to expound the allegoric meaning, traditions and histories: exercised in all kinds of prayers, in short a man on whom the Rabbis cast their eyes.' The name is no doubt based on Mal iii 1 chiefly, because the chief function of the Angel was to 'prepare the hearts' of the congregation. We may compare 1 Tim iii 1—13.

cf. 1 Cor
xiv 16

¹ Taanith 4, 2.

² Sohar chadasch 40, 3.

³ Gemara 16.

The clue to the date of composition.

We have already seen that it was usual in Apocalypses to give some clue to the date of composition by a more or less enigmatic symbol in some part of the vision. Thus Daniel ix 24 ff following and explaining Jer xxv 11, Enoch xc &c., Assumption of Moses vi, Ap of Baruch xxviii, xxxii, Fourth Esdras xi, xii, Ep of Barnabas 4, and other similar works of antiquity, not to mention the innumerable Christian writings which followed¹ after 200 A.D., if carefully compared together in respect of their enigmatic chronology, would yield interesting results for the learned. The corresponding date-clue offered in Ap can alone occupy any space in the present discussion, and it *is meant to be* within the comprehension of all understanding readers. 'Here is the mind that hath wisdom. The seven heads are seven mountains, where the woman sitteth upon them. And there are seven kings; five of them are fallen, one of them is, the remaining one is not yet come, and when he comes he must remain a short time, and the Beast which was and is not. And he is an eighth, and is one of the seven, and goeth into destruction.' There is not the smallest doubt that these kings are Roman emperors.

Nor can it be doubted, I think, that the number of the Beast is Nero Cæsar. In spite of the fun that is made of this and other solutions by Dr Salmon², and

Ap xvii
9 ff.

xiii 18

¹ See Bousset, *Antichrist Legend*.

² *Intr. to N. T.* pp. 224 ff 205.

in spite of the objection brought by Zahn and others that we have no right to suppose that the number is based on Hebrew letters instead of Greek (see p. 169), it seems to me conclusive that the very early various reading 616 is accounted for so remarkably simply upon that hypothesis. $\aleph = 50$, $\kappa = 200$, $\iota = 6$, $\aleph = 50$, $\rho = 100$, $\delta = 60$, $\kappa = 200$, total 666: but deducting the final and unnecessary $\aleph$ of Neron we have $666 - 50 = 616$. The 616 reading is commented on by Irenæus, who gives however some Greek solutions which will not commend themselves to anyone, and did not even to himself; for though John said, 'Here is the wisdom,' Irenæus says, 'Had it been necessary to proclaim the name at the present time it would have been uttered by the lips of the Seer of the Apocalypse.' I do not think it is a valid objection that we should require Cæsar to be written with ' as קיסר, making 676, for (1) doubtless Cæsar would sometimes be spelt Cesar; and (2) the preference for a symmetrical integer would turn the scale in favour of 666, which is next door to 777, which of course would be very sacred; and (3) the number 666 had already an evil association with mammon in 1 Kings x 14. We have then to consider the five Cæsars as being Julius, Augustus, Tiberius, Gaius, Claudius. We cannot suppose that the first to bear the name of Cæsar would be omitted from the numeration, at any rate in the mind of the author when he first wrote the passage. But what was the passage in its original form?

If we pursue the theory given above, that Ap iv—xxii was written in 68 or 69 and caused the author's banishment in the early part of 70, we are of course landed in the midst of a crisis of government in which rulers passed quickly into and out of view. The dates are: Nero killed (*Qualis artifex pereo!*) June 9, 68: Galba proclaimed Apr 3, 68: Galba killed Jan 15, 69: Otho acclaimed the same day: Otho killed himself Apr 17, 69: Vitellius acclaimed Apr 25, 69: Vitellius killed Dec 21, 69: Vespasian receives the oaths of the legions at Alexandria July 1, 69. It seems to follow from these dates and the history which they summarise that while Galba might appear to a resident in Asia to rank among the Cæsars, neither Otho nor Vitellius would deserve the name.

Now I do not think it needs proving that Nero's cruelty and profligacy had prompted the writing of the Apocalypse containing as it does the attack upon Rome, and the prophecy of its fall. But Tacitus shall be cited, and though he writes in the days of Trajan he was old enough to remember Nero's burning Rome. 'In order, if possible, to remove the imputation Nero determined to transfer the guilt to others. For this purpose he punished, with exquisite torture, a race of men detested for their evil practices, who were called vulgarly Christians....He found a set of profligate and abandoned wretches, who were induced to confess themselves guilty, and on the evidence of such men a number of Christians were convicted, not indeed upon

clear evidence of their having set the city on fire, but rather on account of their sullen hatred of the whole human race. They were put to death with exquisite cruelty, and to their sufferings Nero added mockery and derision. Some were covered with the skins of wild beasts, and kept to be devoured by dogs ; others were nailed to the cross ; numbers were burnt alive ; and many covered over with inflammable matter were lighted up, when day declined, to serve as torches Ap xviii 8 during the night¹. For the convenience of seeing this tragic spectacle, the emperor lent his own gardens. He added the sports of the circus, and assisted in person, sometimes driving a car, and mixing with the xviii 13 rabble in his coachman's dress. At length the cruelty of these proceedings filled every breast with compassion. Humanity relented in favour of the Christians. Their manners were, no doubt, of a pernicious tendency, and their crimes called for the hand of justice : but it was evident that they fell a sacrifice, not to the public good, but to glut the rage and cruelty of one man only....Meanwhile to supply the unbounded prodigality of the prince, all Italy was ravaged....In xviii 7, 9, Greece and Asia rapacity was not content with seizing 12, 13 the votive offerings of the temples, but even the statues of the gods were deemed lawful prey².

¹ It is fair to conjecture that this punishment was devised for those who professed to 'shine as lights in the world,' and there is a pointed reference to it in 2 Pet i 19, *λαμπρὸν* lamp.

² Tac. *Ann.* xv 44, 45, Tr. Murphy.

This was in 64, and far more monstrous crimes were to mark the next four years of Nero's reign. If no attack was directed after this against Jews or Christians, it must not be supposed that they would escape the violence of which Cæsar had set the example. The sufferings of either Jews or Christians would inflame the indignation of John the Seer, for he had strong sympathy with those who were Jews indeed. The ruin of Jewish trade is not forgotten by him in his Apocalyptic Elegy, and the voice of the harp-players¹ is the first of those which shall be heard no more at all in Rome². We may conclude that if the Apocalypse was written under the bitter animosity provoked in a Jewish-Christian breast by Nero, the provocation was enough not only to justify the writing, but to make it probable that it would pass the Roman censorship at Ephesus, where a strong section would be found among the heathen which detested Nero. They would hate him among other things for his destruction of Bareas Soranus, late proconsul of Asia, who had there been eminent for his justice, integrity and enterprise. Nero procured 'his accusation for having opened the port of Ephesus, and left unpunished the obstinate resistance of the people

Ap iii 9
xviii 17 ff.
ib. 22

¹ Coins were stamped representing Nero as a harpist, also Suet. *Nero* 25. Merivale, p. 353, says 'flute-player,' meaning 'lute-player.'

² Those who seek in Domitian's time *for anything approaching* the severity of Nero's persecution of Jews or Christians will fail to find it. Eus *H E* III 17—19. See Ramsay, *The Church and the Roman Empire*, xi, xii.

of Pergamos, who had refused to allow the infamous freedman Acratus, Nero's spy, to carry off the statues and pictures that adorned their city¹.

This was in 66. At the end of that year Nero went to Greece and might have crossed to Asia at any time during 67. His sole object was plunder, and 'every day proscriptions and confiscations revealed the prince's necessities. If these for a moment slackened for want of victims, his hands were laid on the monuments of art, on every object on which money could be raised throughout the devoted land².' But he visited neither Athens, nor Sparta, nor Ephesus. The hours he could spare from plunder he spent in winning the contests at the four centres of games, which altered their usual dates to celebrate his visit. He ordered a Roman consular to proclaim as herald: 'Nero the Emperor is victor, and he crowns the people of Rome, and the world which is his own³.' The year 67 would therefore not be exactly the year for the Elder to publish his Apocalypse at Ephesus. But the end of Nero was not far off, and in 68 or early 69 the imminent peril would be over. Still even then the anti-Neronic feeling at Ephesus alone saved John from forfeiting his head for treason against Rome. I conclude the reign of Galba is the time when Apocalypse was published, and Galba the Cæsar of

¹ Tac. *Ann.* xvi 23.

² Merivale, *Romans under the Empire*, vi p. 349.

³ *Ib.* 342. Dio Cass. lxiix 14.

Ap xvii 4 Ap xvii 10, 'the one is.' Galba was 72 when he assumed the purple, and considering the turbulence of the times, it is not going too far to suppose that when Apocalypse first appeared his successor was mentioned in it as 'the remaining one is not yet come.'

xvii 10

I am disposed to think that possibly we may go a step further and say that the following words, 'and when he has come he must remain a short time,' were also original, because the end of the world was shortly expected; but I should be willing to admit that this might be one of the touches which the Elder added to the Apocalypse in Patmos. It must be remembered that at the beginning of 68 the empire was anybody's, and nobody's for long. C. Julius Vindex, prefect of Farther Gaul, was in revolt. Virgilius Rufus, commanding in Lower Germany, was offered the empire three times. Claudius Macer was proclaimed by his soldiers in Africa, Fonteius Capito in Lower Germany. None of these assumed the purple. Galba had governed for several years in Hither Spain. He at once adopted Piso Licinianus as his successor and son, and this may be the explanation of the original meaning of 'the last who has not yet come.' Otho was in command of Lusitania. Licinius Mucianus was proconsul of Syria. Under him Vespasian held Egypt, the granary of Rome. Galba sent Vitellius to succeed Fonteius on the Rhine. T. Vinius was a consul, and Cornelius Laco head of the Prætorian guard. The 'ten horns, ten kings, who

xvii 12

do not yet receive a kingdom, but are receiving authority as kings for one hour along with the Beast,' are not very far to seek, if they are perhaps not exactly the ten mentioned.

But 'the Beast which was and is not: and he is an eighth and is one of the seven, and goeth into perdition' is undoubtedly Nero. I do not see any doubt about this conclusion. Nor do I see any question that the words were in the first draft of the Apocalypse in 68 or early 69. The idea that Nero, the last of the Julian Cæsars, was not dead, but spirited away by the Muses or Apollo, and would return at length to Rome, originated at once upon his death. In spite of a thrill of popular joy at that event, 'hands were not wanting,' Suetonius¹ is careful to tell us, 'to adorn his grave for a long time with spring and summer flowers; and to bring forth his robed statues on the rostra, or else his edicts, as if he were alive and certain to return soon to discomfit his enemies at home. Moreover Vologesus, the Parthian king, in sending envoys to the senate to renew his alliance with Rome, particularly begged that honour should be done to Nero's memory. Finally when 20 years later a pseudo-Nero arose, of doubtful origin—I was then a youth—his name was so favourably received by the Parthians, that he was greatly assisted and his surrender was hard to obtain.' After this clear and independent statement of the Roman

Ap xiii 3,
13

¹ *Nero*, 57.

biographer I am afraid I must confess myself quite unmoved by the statements of Mommsen¹, Harnack², Zahn³, and others who insist on the Domitianic date. Space forbids me to enter into the tangle of interpretations. The true explanation I hold to be simple enough. Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian do not enter into it at all, but Galba does.

As to what later interpretations began almost at once, owing to Galba's speedy death, to be read into the passage, that is another story. We can easily obtain a small or a large number of heads from the Cæsars. Thus: without Nero the Julians are either 5 or 4 according as we count Julius among them or not: Nero may be counted or not: then comes Galba with or without Otho and Vitellius: then comes Vespasian with or without his two sons. Add 5 or 4, to 1 or 0, to 1 or 3, to 1 or 3, and how many or few do we obtain? Any total from 6 to 12. Lightfoot considers, for instance, that in the Epistle to Barnabas the three kings in one are the three Flavians associated together in empire. And yet I think that there is a right and a wrong way of interpretation, and that Harnack has got hold of the latter, because he has here pinned his faith to Irenæus whom he so entirely sets aside concerning Papias and the Elders, and to the common understanding of 'the reign of Domitian' (see note, p. 121).

¹ *Provinces of Roman Empire*, ii 197.

² *Chronologie*, p. 245.

³ *Einl.* p. 619.

Harnack says, "The writer of xvii 10 wrote it under Nero; but what then shall we say of the next verse 11? The writer of 11 wanted to bring in another Cæsar without giving the lie to the traditional number 7. While then the total 7 had caused difficulties to the writer of 9 and 10, because it was too great, it troubled the writer of 11 because as a historical fact it had been exceeded, and was now too small. He must have his 8th Cæsar, and has therefore with the art of a Rabbi read it out of the 7: the Beast is the 8th Cæsar. It follows with great probability that the writer of 11 is not identical with the writer of 10, and that he wrote under Domitian: so that Nero is the 5th, Vespasian 6th, Titus 7th, and Domitian the 8th. This seems to me a simple explanation. It is obvious that an obscurity remains: but who can illustrate the statement that $7 + 1$ remains = 7 without leaving behind a certain obscurity?" Who indeed? I should be sorry to accuse the Seer of either such simplicity or such ingenuity. I should have to use a harder word. If the interpolator by Harnack's theory were some unknown and unimportant copyist, the case would not be so serious. But when we read some 400 pages further in Harnack's work¹ that the interpolator is the Evangelist of the Fourth Gospel and is John the Elder (but certainly not John the Apostle, son of Zebedee, though somehow related to him historically), the imputation is very serious. It will take

¹ *Chronologie*, p. 675 ff.

much more to convince me that the Evangelist could or would stoop to such a clumsy expedient as this view implies, in order to pass off a Jewish Apocalypse as a Christian work by his own hand. Harnack builds upon the non-integrity of the Apocalypse and the acceptance of Vischer's or some similar theory, but neither of these foundations is secure.

Zahn by means of special pleading endeavours to leave us in the uncertain condition as to the seven heads. (1) He argues that if the Apocalypse regarded Rome as the antichristian empire of the last time, it would depart from the line followed by Jesus, by Peter, by Paul and the early Christian *propheteia* sanctioned by Paul, and further Clement of Rome, Melito, and Irenæus. I reply that undoubtedly it does so depart. This is its main feature, and I account for it by its circumstances as given above in these pages. Another writer before or after would adopt a different attitude to the great Roman power, which after all in the hands of good rulers was capable of justice. Zahn admits that the Roman Empire was the sixth horn: that Rome is Babylon: that Nero spilt the blood of saints and apostles: that the seven hills are those of Rome. He denies that a Roman Emperor in the near future is Antichrist. But neither does the Apocalypse call him by that name.

(2) He says that the Beast, which must be the Roman monarchy, cannot be a future phenomenon, or non-existent as Ap xvii 8—11 implies: for it never

ceased to exist. I do not think we can hope that the Prophet should distinguish so sharply between the monarchy and the monarch: nor need we do so in the varying scenes of Apocalypse.

(3) Zahn says that the slaying of a head is not the slaying of the Beast. This is not worth arguing. He was slain, but his wound was healed. There is no explanation of these statements nearly so good as that which rests on the legend of *Nero redivivus*. No doubt the legend continued till the second century, long after it ceased to be probable that Nero, born in 37, was still alive. But was it ever *probable*? Do legends arise or die *by probability*, by the higher reason? This legend merged soon into folk-lore and the cycle of Messianic ideas. No wonder a Christian Sibyllist of 150—160 A.D. combined Ap xiii 3, 15, xvii 8, 11 with Jewish ideas and introduced greater confusion into the Christian world. That is just what he would do. *C'est son métier*. All we have to deal with in 68 is the ideas of 68 for determining the meaning of words written in 68.

(4) Zahn urges that the ten crowned horns of xiii 1, xvii 3, 12—17, xii 3 forbid any preterist explanation. I have referred to this on p. 216. They are evidently the heads of the provinces of the empire, related to it as the kingdoms of the Diadochi were to that of Alexander, referred to in Daniel vii, viii.

CHAPTER IX.

THE APOCALYPSE AND ST JOHN.

EXTERNAL EVIDENCE.

READERS of Bp Westcott's Commentary of St John will remember how in the Introduction, p. lxxxvi, he lays down the axiomatic truth, that, of the two works which he considers to be by the same author, the Apocalypse is earlier than the Gospel of St John. 'It is less developed both in thought and style. The material imagery in which it is composed includes the idea of progress in interpretation. The symbols are living. On the other hand, to go back from the teaching of the Gospel to that of the Apocalypse, to clothe clear thought in figures, to reduce the full expression of truth to its rudimentary beginnings, seems to involve a moral miracle, which would introduce confusion into life.' These words of a beloved and revered teacher, at whose feet we of the present generation have sat, and wish that we could sit again, appear to me incontrovertible, nor could they be put better. It may be a tenable theory that the Apoca-

lypse was the early work of an author who went on later to write the Gospel with the exception of two or three passages, but it is impossible that the Gospel could have been written by any human pen which afterwards wrote the Apocalypse. It is therefore astonishing that Zahn should now have proposed 85 A.D. for the Gospel and 95 for the Apocalypse of St John. Moral miracles we have often heard of, and sometimes meet with: but 'a moral miracle, which introduces confusion into life' is a thing unknown, and when rested chiefly on a statement of Irenæus, 100 years after the events recorded, is also a poor thing.

The Apocalypse not by the Evangelist.

But great and deep as my regard for Bishop Westcott and his teaching and writing is, I have in these pages to differ from him and his point of view, and I do so with less regret in following out a line which he has deliberately reserved, namely, 'the difference of the Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel on special points of doctrine¹.' At the same time I would refer the reader to that masterly Introduction for all that it contains. If I could be convinced that the author of the Apocalypse was not a Prophet, was not the Elder who wrote 2 and 3 John, was not an ex-member of the Sanhedrim, was not the author of a literary attack on Rome written with the bitterest

¹ *Intr. to Gospel of St John*, lxxxvii a.

Jewish acrimony in 68—69, was a fairly young man then, and possessed of more Greek scholarship than he chose to exhibit; if I could believe all this, I could believe that nearly 30 years later the same man composed the Fourth Gospel with some general reservations in the circumstances described in the Muratorian¹ fragment. But as it is I must say that it needs 'a moral miracle which introduces confusion into life' to suppose that John who wrote the Apocalypse in 68 wrote the Gospel in 98 or any other year. They are two persons who wrote the two books, and only an ancient error has caused us to suppose that they are one. The writer of the Apocalypse cannot conceivably have been so deeply impregnated with Judaism at the age of 60 as a close examination of the book shews him to have been, and then have changed his deep-seated convictions, and at 90 have written a book in which he speaks of 'the Jews' as a people he had nothing to do with! A savage pro-Jew at 60, and a stranger to his race at 90! A pro-Jew at 60 and yet the Jews had crucified his Lord and bosom-friend at 30! Impossible. If we imagine St John's feelings, I mean the son of Zebedee's, at 68 A.D., can we

¹ "The Fourth Gospel was (written by) John (ex discipulis), one of the disciples. At the exhortations of his fellow-disciples and bishops (John) said: 'Fast with me for three days from this time, and whatever shall be revealed to each of us, let us relate it to one another.' On the same night it was revealed to Andrew, one of the Apostles, that John should relate all things in his own name, aided by the revision of all." (Westcott, *Canon*, p. 212.) Lightfoot translates the concluding words, 'and that all should certify' (recognoscentibus). But see p. 241.

seriously think that he was burning to see the fall of Rome in revenge for Rome's treatment of the Jewish people? St John knew in 68 (what he was going to write in 98 or thereabouts) that the Chief Priests themselves had said in 33, 'If we let him thus alone, all men will believe on him, and the Romans shall come and take away both *our place* and our nation.' Jn xi 48 Now by 68 multitudes had believed on Him. Caiaphas indeed had prophesied. The Sanhedrim was still the Sanhedrim, temporising with Rome, a prey to internal dissensions. We should have to believe that in 68 St John himself would side with the chief priests¹ of that day in bitterly deprecating what he knew was the certain result of their predecessors' action, the just reward of their iniquity, in sacrificing one innocent Life to stave off the destruction of their people; that he would pronounce for those who would fain thwart in 33 the unswerving law of the Providence of GOD, by joining with their successors in 68, and pouring out an unstinted vocabulary in exultation over the fall of their sovereign Rome. We can imagine St

¹ The Fourth Evangelist never mentions the Elders. The word 'elders' occurs once in Jn, but only in the later addition called the Pericope vii 53—viii 11, and there it only means 'seniors in age.' He only uses the word *συνέδριον* in xi 47 without the article, 'a meeting of the Council.' This abstinence from reference to the Elders as such is an undoubted sign that he was unwilling, or his disciples were unwilling, to wound the feelings of the Seer or his disciples by any hint that the Seer had once, under the same title which he still bore, consented however remotely, or ignorantly, or after the event, unto the counsel and deed of those who destroyed Jesus.

John in 98 writing his Gospel from the point of view which Bishop Westcott describes: we can imagine John the Elder writing in 68 the Apocalypse from the point of view which I have tried to set forth. But to combine the two ideas by identifying the authors is a vain undertaking. A John at 60 is incapable of the conversion which is possible to a Saul at 30 or 25. It would be difficult to reconcile the writing of *Jn xi 48* in 98 A.D. by the author of the *Apocalypse* 30 years before with his own loyalty to his Master in 68 A.D. and with his belief in the law of GOD.

The Apocalypse by the Elder.

But the case is quite the contrary if John the Elder wrote the *Apocalypse*. He might conceivably have belonged to the Sanhedrim in 33, but more probably he belonged to it earlier or later. He was then convinced through his own profound study of prophecy or by other means that Jesus was the Messiah. As Saul was in the employment of the Sanhedrim when he was converted, so John was actually a member of it, and after conversion could no more be content to belong. Perhaps he knew Ananias of Damascus, Saul, Barnabas, or other Prophets. He migrated to Ephesus, where he taught still on his own intensely conservative prophetic lines. To him the 'testimony of Jesus,' the testimony which Jesus, Himself a Prophet, bore, and which He still and all the more, as the Risen Christ, continued to bear, was the

‘very breath of Prophecy.’ And so he persevered in faith and patience, surviving perhaps to the year 98, till he descended to his grave at Ephesus.

Zahn on the Date of Apocalypse.

The history of the Christian Church loses nothing whatever by the transference of the authorship of the Apocalypse to John the Elder. Where John the Apostle was between 40 and 80 A.D. we do not know. According to the identity theory he would be learning Greek, which he wrote so imperfectly in Ap and so adequately in Jn. But Zahn suggests that he was not really a good Greek scholar when he wrote Jn: he was prompted by those who were such. ‘I hold it,’ says Zahn¹, ‘not impossible that he submitted his other works’ (has he considered 2 and 3 Jn?) ‘to a revision of style by friends who were better linguists, which he omitted to do in the case of the Apocalypse.’ ‘A prophetic writer holds a much less free attitude towards his object than anyone else. He has, especially if his Prophecy rests upon Visions which he has experienced in the ecstatic state, received everything, not merely the matter but the form. He has only to convert what he has seen into words, and will therefore be much less inclined than a narrator and teacher of history to polish the form of his first draft or allow it to be polished afterwards. The original representation, sketched under the immediate

¹ *Einl.* II, pp. 615, 617.

impression of the vision, is the best because it is the truest. The more important the contents, the more indifferent the form.' Is the Apocalypse then the more important? More important for whom? Only for bad grammarians? only for the solecists of Ephesus in 68? only for the *faex* *Dianae*? not for the Asiarch and the Proconsul? Was the Gospel, which Zahn says appeared in 85, for the better educated, and the Apocalypse in 95 for the less? Was the latter more important for anyone in 95 than the Gospel in 85 or later? Or is an Elder, like an Emperor, *et supra Grammaticam*? The more important the contents, the more important the grammar, is the common belief of men. Good grammar is always worth something, because without it we cannot have good sense. Zahn's Evangelist spoke ill grammar, and when he came to see visions and hear the words of heaven, they were given in the language he spoke. That we can understand. 'With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again.' But was there ever a theory which so dishonoured the Evangelist? As a historian and teacher he was willing to submit his writings to the file of correction: as a Prophet he was unwilling! There was a shade of truth to be sacrificed in the corrected History: there was none in the correction of the Prophecy! At the age of 80 he was amenable to correction, at the age of 90 he was not! I doubt if Zahn's opinion will on this point commend itself to many of his readers.

Irenæus on John the Disciple, and on Polycarp.

We note that the fragment on the Canon, so far as it concerns St John, speaks unmistakeably of the gathering of the disciples. Bp Westcott considers the meeting to have taken place 'in Asia¹.' And he says it was 'probably of Ephesian elders².' But I cannot see any ground for choosing Ephesus or Asia except the idea that St John was in Asia, which rests upon the identity theory of the authors of Apocalypse and John. Certainly it has been in my mind a fixed idea that this meeting did take place in Asia; but the idea can only rest upon Bp Westcott's and Bp Lightfoot's statements³. A fresh examination of the authorities is well worth making, especially as we are apt to take a small piece of Irenæus away from its context, and this is never the safest way to proceed. I will now take the authorities to which Lightfoot⁴ has referred.

¹ *Introd.* xxxvi.

² *Comm. on Jn* xxi 24 f.

³ e.g. *Essays on Supernatural Religion*, VII. The later school of St John.

⁴ The text of this Chapter was written before I had seen Harnack's *Chronologie*, pp. 651—680, which I refer to in the footnotes. I am glad to find my conclusions very similar to his, though I differ entirely from him as to the date of Ap. He says, p. 675, 'Not till the 3rd century do we find the story of two Johns in Asia, and quite dimly then—apparently as the conciliation of two traditions. That the Disciple-Apostle was converted into the Disciple-Elder will be assumed by none; only the converse assumption is tenable, if we are obliged to decide. Therefore, unless there were two Johns, disciples of the Lord, in Asia, who survived to 98 A.D. (Trajan), the Disciple-Elder alone was there. I see no way of avoiding this conclusion.' Harnack still holds

Lk iii 23 Iren ii 22, 5, 'How was the Lord teaching unless He had reached the age of a Master? For when He came to be baptized He had not yet completed His thirtieth year, but was beginning to be about 30 years of age, and (according to these Gnostics) He preached only one year¹, reckoning from His baptism, suffering before He completed His 30th year, being in fact still a young man of by no means advanced age. Now that the first stage of a young man's age is 30, and that a young man is still so-called at 40, everyone will admit; but from 40 and 50² a man begins to decline towards old age, which our Lord possessed while He still fulfilled the office of a teacher, even as the gospel and all the elders, who had conferred in Asia with John the disciple of the Lord, testify that John had handed on this tradition. For he survived among them until the times of Trajan. Some of them moreover saw not only John, but other Apostles too (*sed et alios Apostolos*), and heard the very same

'the critical heresy that assigns the Gospel and Ap to the same author upon the assumption that the Evangelist took an Apocalypse, indeed several Jewish Apocalypses—and interpolated them.' He still agrees mainly with Vischer in his demarcation of the Christian passages, but he adds that these present no feature which points to a personal relation of the author with Jesus Christ during His earthly life. I cannot accept this view at all, and yet there are not many whose opinion on the contents of these pages I should value more than Harnack's.

¹ So says also Clement of Alexandria.

² There is little doubt he said from 45, 'et quinto' should be read for 'et quinquagesimo,' according to the well-known Roman rule of age. See p. 164.

account from them, and testify about a statement of this kind.' Now when we come to this positive statement in Irenæus as regards the age of Jesus, we do not hesitate to set it aside. Bp Westcott indeed says on Jn viii 57, 'This opinion (that Christ was about 50 years old at the Passion) was said to be derived from Jn viii. However strange it may appear, some such a view is not inconsistent with the only fixed historic dates which we have with regard to the Lord's life, the date of His birth, His baptism, and the banishment of Pilate.' Nevertheless by common consent it is treated with neglect. Yet what right have we to treat half of Irenæus's statement with neglect and insist on the other half in which he gives his 'authorities'? If those 'authorities' are worth consideration, why have we not long ago rewritten the chronology of the Saviour's Life, on the Irenæan basis? Meanwhile until that is done, be it observed that Irenæus says that this John in Asia was *the Disciple* of the Lord; he does not say Apostle, nor can we be sure that his following remark, 'sed et alios Apostolos,' is meant to imply that John was an Apostle. It might only be for καὶ ἄλλους ἀποστόλους, meaning 'and others, Apostles.'

Iren iii 3, 4, 'But Polycarp too not only became a disciple of Apostles, and conversed with many of those who had seen the Christ, but also was constituted by Apostles bishop in Asia, in the Church at Smyrna; whom I also have seen, in my first youth (τῇ πρώτῃ ἡλικίᾳ, in prima nostra aetate), for he survived a very

long time and departed from life in very old age by a glorious and most notable martyrdom, having ever taught the things which he had learnt *traditionally from* (παρά not ἀπό) the Apostles, which also the Church hands down, which also alone are true. These things are testified by all Churches in Asia, and those who down to this day have succeeded Polycarp, who was a much more trustworthy and safe witness of the truth than Valentinus and Marcion, and all such wrong-minded men. He also when on a visit to Rome, in the days of Anicetus, converted many to the Church of GOD from following the aforementioned heretics, by preaching that he had received from the Apostles this doctrine and this only, which was handed down by the Church, as the truth. And there are those who have heard him tell how John, the disciple of the Lord, when he went to take a bath in Ephesus, and saw Cerinthus within,' &c. We must infer from this that Irenæus had not himself had the story from Polycarp's own lips, of Cerinthus and the bath. But the whole gist of the passage is that apostolic tradition was preserved by episcopal succession. 'Since it would be very tedious in such a volume as this' (Irenæus wrote no less than five long books amounting to hundreds of pages) 'to reckon up the successions of all the Churches,' he contents himself with giving the succession at Rome. 'Ad hanc enim ecclesiam propter potentioorem principalitatem necesse est omnem convenire ecclesiam,'—a somewhat

dangerous remark for all future time¹, whatever its meaning may be. The character of the whole statement is vague to a degree. Polycarp is said to have received traditions from the side of the Apostles, not directly from them. Which Apostles? There is a world of difference between the traditional *παρά* and the direct *ἀπό* when we come to hearsay. What Apostles appointed Polycarp bishop in Asia? Why this general plural, if Irenæus knew the names? And here again he calls John, *the disciple of the Lord*, which so far as the term goes would apply to John the Elder as well as to the Evangelist.

Irenæus on the tradition of John.

Nor does the substance of this tradition, in one of the few cases where we can test its value, appear to be worth very much as history. For instance let us take a well-known passage². Irenæus v 33 3 says: "The predicted blessing (of Isaac) therefore belongs unquestionably to the times of the kingdom, when the righteous shall bear rule, upon their rising from the dead; when also the creation, renovated and set free, shall fructify with an abundance of all kinds of food, from the dew of heaven and from the fertility of the earth; *as the elders who saw John, the disciple of the Lord, relate that they had heard from him*' ('ab eo

¹ See Wordsworth, *St Hippolytus and the Church of Rome*, xii.

² Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 533.

may be ἀπό or παρά; we should like to know which) 'how the Lord used to teach in regard to those times, and say : The days will come in which vines shall grow, each having 10,000 branches, and on each branch 10,000 tendrils, and on each tendril 10,000 twigs, and on each twig 10,000 clusters, and on every cluster 10,000 grapes, and every grape when pressed will yield 25 measures of wine. And when any one of the saints shall lay hold of a cluster, another shall cry out: I am a better cluster; take me; bless the Lord through me. In like manner the Lord declared that a grain of wheat would produce 10,000 ears, and every ear have 10,000 grains, and every grain would yield 10 pounds of clear, pure, fine flour; and that all other fruit-bearing trees, and seeds, and grass, would produce in like proportions; and that all animals feeding on the produce of the earth should in those days become peaceful and harmonious among each other, and be in perfect subjection to man.' And these things Papias too, a hearer of John and a companion of Polycarp, an old-fashioned¹ man (ἀρχαῖος ἀνὴρ), testifies in writing in his fourth book, for there were five books compiled by him. And he has added the remark: These things are credible to those who believe. And when the traitor Judas did not believe and asked: How then will such productions be accomplished by the Lord?

¹ We think of Mnason in Acts xxi 26 'an old-fashioned disciple.' 'Disciple' is especially Palestinian, as Harnack points out. *Chron.* p. 660.

the Lord said: They who shall come to those times shall see." Most of this extraordinary passage is in the Apocalypse of Baruch, which was probably not composed till after 70. Even if it were earlier, can anyone suppose that it was ever uttered by our Lord? Yet this is a sample of what 'Papias a hearer of John' gives us in his 'Exposition of the oracles of the Lord' as a saying of Jesus. This is what the Elders who saw John the disciple of the Lord heard from John as a saying of Jesus.

Irenæus mixed up the two Johns.

Now here the explanation is really simple enough. Jesus did not say these things. John the Evangelist did not say them. It is a pity that Lightfoot does not stop to offer a remark; but he says, 'I shall not stop to enquire whether there is any foundation of truth in this story, and if so, how far it has been transmuted, as it passed through the hands of the Elders and of Papias¹.' It is always worth while to do this when we are dealing with the scanty authorities available for 75—150 A.D. Let us stop one moment to ask if it is not possible that John the Elder, being a Prophet, had in the natural order of events related this as something revealed to him or to another? ^{Jude 14}
 The Prophets dealt in myriads, and in myriads of ^{Ap v 11,}
 myriads, and there is even a verse in the Apocalypse ^{ix 16}
^{xiv 18}
 which is not unlike the notion in Papias, and which

¹ *Essays on Supernatural Religion*, p. 159.

duly receives its correction by the Evangelist in Jn xv. The notion is, as Lightfoot observes, an extension of Mt xix 29, Mk x 29 f, Lk xviii 30. Irenæus is perhaps as milliarian and millenarian as Papias; but he did not understand Papias's investigations, which had for their object the oral traditions, prophetic or others, current in his lifetime. In any case the line of tradition of this 'hearer of John' is plainly that of John the Elder.

Irenæus to Florinus.

Undoubtedly Irenæus believed that John had seen the Lord, and that Polycarp had seen John. In his Epistle to Florinus¹ he says he can describe the very place in which the blessed Polycarp used to sit when he discussed,...and how he would describe his intercourse [with] John and with the rest who had seen the Lord, and how he would relate their words. But let us note what he says next: 'And whatsoever things he had heard from (παρά) them about the Lord, and about His miracles, and about His teaching, Polycarp, as having received them from (παρά) eye-witnesses of the life of the Word, would relate altogether in accordance (πάντα σύμφωνα) with the Scriptures. To these (discourses) I used to listen... noting them down (ὑπομνηματιζόμενος), not on paper, but in my heart; and by the grace of GOD, I constantly ruminate upon them faithfully.' Unfortunately

¹ Lightfoot, *Essays on S. R.* p. 96.

here is a difficulty about the reading¹. And as in the former extracts, the use of *παρά* will not count as if it had been *ἀπό*; the traditions are indirect, and are of less value accordingly.

Was Papias a hearer of John the Apostle?

When we turn to Papias, the companion of Polycarp, we find that Papias's own preface to his work 'lends no support to the belief that he, Papias, was a personal disciple of John the son of Zebedee².' And 'the possibility remains that Irenæus was guilty of the confusion that Eusebius lays to his charge' when he says that Irenæus has no ground for his assertion³.

¹ It concerns the reading of perhaps the most important word [with]. Stieren reads *μετά*, which is not a very usual word, 'his intercourse in conjunction with John': it should be *σύν*: for *μετά* is only of separable conjunction, and *σύν* is already in the substantive *συναστροφήν*. But the Oxford text of Dr Bright reads *κατὰ Ἰωάννου*, which means 'his intercourse with (elders) down from John.' This would put Polycarp's discourses some further distance away from John. The following words would then be 'and the intercourse of the rest (*τῶν τῶν λοιπῶν* Stieren), who had seen the Lord, with the Lord,' but these perhaps had not been seen by Polycarp. It may be that there is no genuine preposition before *Ἰωάννου*. This would make the sentence simpler, and the meaning would be 'the intercourse of John with the Lord and that of the others who had seen Him': and then the chain between Polycarp and John becomes still less direct. In this last case the John mentioned would be the Evangelist. But Polycarp was only born in 70. The proof of his connexion with John is a frail thing at best.

² Lightfoot, *Essays*, p. 144.

³ Lightfoot, *ib.* Harnack (*Chron.* p. 340 note) points out what a close resemblance there is between Irenæus's quotation (iii 3, 4) of Papias

If the words of Papias (p. 108) are read carefully and without a prejudice in favour of the identity of the two Johns, it will be found that they are perfectly clear in the sense which Eusebius gives them, that Papias was a hearer of John the Elder, whose words he himself remembers hearing¹; and whose Apocalypse we know that he used², while as for John the Apostle he had to enquire what he *had said* (εἶπεν).

The Elders were Prophets.

The use of such vague expressions as 'the Elders who have their succession from the Apostles,' and 'the Elders, disciples of the Apostles' by Irenæus³ really does not advance our historical knowledge of his authorities, but only as to the belief of Irenæus and his time. In the former of these two passages he is urging obedience to the Elders. But the latter does throw some light upon the prophetic character of 'the Elders,' which Irenæus does not seem to appreciate at all. Speaking of the expulsion from Eden, Irenæus says: 'Wherefore also the Elders who were disciples of the Apostles tell us that those who were translated

'John surviving among them till the times of Trajan,' and Irenæus' own statement (ii 22 5) 'John survived among them until &c.' The latter seems to rest simply upon the former.

¹ λέγουσιν. Lightfoot is not satisfactory upon this present tense, *Essays*, p. 150.

² So says Andreas of Cæsarea, Routh, *Rel.* i 15.

³ iv 26 2, v 5 1.

(Enoch, &c.) were transferred to that place (for Paradise has been prepared for righteous men, such as have the Spirit; whither also the Apostle Paul was carried and heard words unspeakable, to us at least in this present life), and that they who are translated remain there until the end of all things, preluding immortality.' This was the teaching of John the Elder and all the other Prophets, his fellow-disciples. It is only Irenæus who says that they were disciples of 'the Apostles.' He had no conceivable object in not telling us which Apostles or Apostle they were disciples of, if he knew. The silence or half-silence of Irenæus is not a thing to be afraid of, and we may safely say he did not know.

Irenæus on St John's sojourn in Asia.

But finally we come to the statement of Irenæus concerning the Fourth Gospel¹: 'Afterwards John the disciple of the Lord, who also lay upon His breast, did himself publish the gospel, while διατρίβων, *commorans*, at Ephesus in Asia.' This is a good round statement, following as it does three similar good round statements upon the three other Gospels, and there is a straightness and simplicity about it which his other remarks have so often lacked. I must enter a respectful protest against the vague translation of the participle by Lightfoot², for which he gives us

¹ Iren. iii 1, 1.

² *Essays*, p. 182.

‘living,’ as if to imply that he usually lived there. But everyone knows that *διατρίβειν* is correctly translated by *commorari* in the Latin version, and that either word means ‘to sojourn.’ John was sojourning in Ephesus according to Irenæus, but not residing there. He was passing time, but not his life, nor the remainder of it, there. He was on a visit. He was not a dweller, nor had he a house¹.

Muratorian Fragment on St John.

This brings us back to the Muratorian Fragment, which is conjectured to be the work of Caius by Muratori, of Papias by Simon de Magistris (1772), of Hegesippus by Bunsen, of a 4th century writer by Credner², of some one earlier than Irenæus by Hesse. What it says about the composition of the Fourth Gospel has been already quoted³. There is nothing to shew in what relation it stands to the statement of Irenæus⁴, or whether either writer had seen the words

¹ Let any one contrast *διατρίβειν*, to sojourn, in Jn iii 22, xi 54; Acts xii 19, xiv 3, 28, xv 35, xvi 12, xx 6, xxv 6, 14, with *κατοικεῖν*, to dwell in a house, Mt iv 13; Acts i 19, vii 4, ix 32, xix 10, 17; Mk v 3 &c. Or let him compare the fine expression of Cic. *de Sen. ad fin.* ‘Commorandi natura diversorium nobis, non habitandi dedit’: or *pro Quinct.* 6 ‘Romae dies xxx fere Quinctius commoratur, &c.’ To translate this ‘living’ is to leave an erroneous impression of what St John did. I must say this, though I believe that Bp Lightfoot was so full of the identity of the two Johns that it did not occur to him how important the difference was just here. But accuracy compels the remark upon one whose memory I venerate and love.

² See Westcott, *Canon*, p. 210.

³ p. 81.

⁴ iii 1.

of the other. There is no doubt that the Fragment¹ is a translation from the Greek, and as Westcott points out, it probably belongs to the Church of Rome (*ab urbe*). Now the words which occur as possibly giving a clue to further knowledge are to my mind as follows:

(1) *Fast with me* at once takes us back to the fastings of the Prophets, an almost invariable preparation for any serious undertaking. John the Baptist of course Mt ix 14 was a Prophet. (2) *Revealed* takes us distinctly back Lk vii 26, to prophecy, and shews that we are now in a circle Acts x 30, of Prophets. (3) *The revision of all* is the right xiii 2, 3, translation, I agree with Bp Westcott. That of Bp xiv 23, Lightfoot, 'and that all should certify,' appears to Lk ii 37 give rather an erroneous touch. *Recognoscere* has no

¹ The following is the passage about the Fourth Gospel in the fragment according to Bp. Westcott's collation (translated p. 244 below):

*Quarti Euangeliorum • Johannis ex decipolis
cohortantibus condiscipulis et ep̄s suis
dixit conieuncte mihi • odie triduo et quid
cuique fuerit reuelatum alterutrum
nobis ennaremus eadem nocte reue
latum andree ex apostolis ut recognis
centibus cunctis iohannis suo nomine
cuncta describet et ideo licit varia sin
culis euangeliorum libris principia
doceantur nihil tamen differt creden
tium fidei cum uno ac principali sp̄u de
clarata sint in omnibus omnia de natiui
tate de passione de resurrectione
de conuesatione cum decipulis suis
ac de gemino eius aduentu
primo in humilitate dispectus quod fo
it secundum potestate regali pre
clarum quod fotorum est. quid ergo.....*

1 Cor xiv
29

such meaning as this. The revision is that of the Prophets in their Session, and exactly corresponds with the Rules laid down by St Paul, 'let the other Prophets discriminate' (p. 2), or review, and if necessary correct, what is said. The Prophet's deliverance must needs run the gauntlet of criticism. (4) *Cohortantibus* at the beginning is probably *παρακαλουμένων*, mutually giving prophetic exhortations.

It is therefore plain that according to this document the meeting was a prophetic meeting subject to the usual prophetic Rules, and from this some will be disposed to infer that after all St John was a Prophet himself, and that he was the author of the Apocalypse. This inference however would be rash. Apart from all the other difficulties which appear to me to follow from what has been already urged, it is to be observed that the meeting was composed of St John's Bishops as well as (his) Fellow-disciples. I cannot help thinking that 'Fellow-disciple' is a term which comes very near to John the Elder's own description of himself in Ap i 9, compared with Acts xiv 22 (a prophetic circle), xi 26 (the same), ix 10 (Ananias was a Prophet himself), and xxi 26 (Mnason an 'old-fashioned disciple,' compared with the expression used by Irenæus of Papias, who was a student of prophecy¹, 'an old-fashioned man). But if *Fellow-disciples* represents the Prophetic side of the Church, it seems certain in any case that *Bishops* belong to the other and the con-

¹ Above, p. 234.

trasted side, the growing and reforming and organising side, who felt that Prophecy was becoming a danger to the order of the Church. The position then is that the meeting was held by St John and his disciples in some centre of the Prophets' activity,—Irenæus says Ephesus, the Fragment names no place: held under the rules of the Prophets: attended by the Apostle Andrew (who had survived his preaching in Scythia: ^{Eus H E} but is Andrew's presence credible at all?): and result-^{iii 1.} ing in the Fourth Gospel being produced and published. It would have been a delicate matter to obtain the consent of the Prophets to the acceptance of another Gospel, when the three existing Synoptic Gospels were so strongly influenced, as they are, by prophetic elements, without some such meeting being held, and I can see no reason why it should not have been held at Ephesus some time about 95 A.D.

Still we have not yet arrived at a clear understanding of what may have happened, nor of what the Fragment says. If it said that St John did according to what was revealed to Andrew, describe all things and write them out in the form of the Fourth Gospel that same night, of course it would forfeit its claim to be believed. But perhaps the lacuna (which I am willing to admit *may follow describret*) conceals what it said upon that subject. We can only try to make something of the preceding and following words. Now, bearing in mind the very rough and uncertain character of the Fragment as it stands, we may as

fairly read it in the light of one theory as in that of another. I suggest then that we read it thus: *Quartum Evangeliorum*¹. *Johannis ex discipulis*. This is closer to the MS than Bp Westcott's emendation of his own text, for he has altered *Johannis* to *Johannes*. I translate: 'The Fourth of the Gospels. It proceeds from the Disciples of John². While the Fellow-disciples (that is the Prophets) and his bishops (*suis* is used for *αὐτοῦ* some lines lower down and *ipsius* and *eius* are interchanged in the Ambrose fragment by the same scribe in this MS) were holding their exhortations (some one) said: Fast with me three days and whatever shall have been revealed to each let us announce either of the two revelations to ourselves.' The punctuation is strictly in accordance with the MS. I admit the absence of a subject to *dixit*, but would suggest a very simple explanation. The missing word is *quis*. The word in its place according to the editions is *suis*. Between S and Q the change is very slight. If it should prove that the MS does not justify the Q, it is not improbable that the copyist after writing *suis* imagined he had written *quis* and passed on to the next line. But as Dr Westcott says: 'the text *from*

¹ It is only fair to count the full stop as worth something. Westcott ignores it; but in the MS a full stop represents a true full stop 15 times, a lesser stop 6 times, and no stop at all only 3 times.

² When this was written I had not seen Harnack's conclusion in his *Chronologie*, p. 680: 'That the Gospel is not composed by the Apostle John may be called an incontrovertible conclusion from its internal evidence.' He thinks, however, that it is somehow 'the Gospel of John the Elder according to John the son of Zebedee.'

which the copy was made was either carelessly written or much injured.' Now this *suis* occurs at the end of a line, and is immediately above a *quid* in the following line. A point omitted in Bp Westcott's and Bp Lightfoot's translation is that *alterutrum* means 'either of two things' and is for *ἐκάτερον*. It may be in the wrong case perhaps, for *alterutri*, but the word is rightly used of two parties, *and only two*, which are in this case the Prophets' and the Bishops' with their respective 'revelations'.

But what was the sequel? 'The same night it was revealed to Andrew (one) of the Apostles, subject to the revision of *all*' (this may mean a relaxation for the nonce of the rule that the Prophets alone revised the Prophets' utterances) 'that John *cuncta describeret* should be the historian in his own name. And therefore although'...(see p. 81 above for the apologetic remarks which follow). Now the point I contend for here is that St John was dead. His disciples guarded his precious Gospel. But could they venture to put it forward as the Gospel of John with or without comment or attestation? Could they on the other hand venture to put it forward in the name of the disciples of John? The other three Gospels had each a single author: should the fourth be known under a plural

¹ Those who reject my explanation will observe that by that of Bp Westcott the John in question is called 'disciple,' *μαθητής*, not Apostle, as Andrew is called. It follows that the document has to be classed with all the other passages in Papias, Irenæus, and the Elders, who decline to use the term John the Apostle.

authorship? Or under what form should it be published?

It will, I think, hardly be denied that Jn xxi 20—25 was all written after St John's death, not merely xxi 24, 25¹. The meaning of 23 does not appear if written while St John was yet in the flesh. We cannot suppose, in justice to St John, that he himself would take notice of the saying about him in 23. We can see at once why his disciples should do so for him after his death. Bp Westcott, who does not take this view, is nevertheless clear that xxi 'is an appendix to the Gospel, which is completed by xx. It is impossible to suppose that it was the original design of the Evangelist to add the incidents of xxi after xx 30 f, which verses form a solemn close to his record....The occasion of the addition is probably to be found in the circulation of the saying of the Lord as to St John, xxi 23².' He agrees of course that xxi 19 was written after the death of St Peter.

Other evidence on St John in Asia.

But it will be urged that this is against the evidence of Clement of Alexandria (200 A.D.)³, who gives us the famous story of the young Robber.

¹ Harnack points out that the passage not only assumes his death, but his natural death, in contrast to St Peter's martyrdom. *Chron.* p. 666.

² *Comm. on St John*, xxi 1.

³ Clem. Al. *Quis dives*, 42.

The story has only to be read in the original, where it is introduced by *μῦθον οὐ μῦθον, ἀλλ' ὄντα λόγον*¹, a myth which is not a myth but a real story—how many of this sort do we not know?—to see that it is a very good story and bad history. Yet I do not understand why the first part of it should be treated as historical by Lightfoot², unless he was going to maintain the whole, including the preternatural agility of the aged Evangelist.

The statement of Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus Eus H E about 195, is of quite equal value: “We then continue v 24 to spend our day in unslothfulness, neither adding nor taking away. (Comp. Ap xxii 18.) For in Asia too there are great luminaries fallen asleep” (i.e. to rise again like heavenly bodies), “such as shall arise at the day of the Lord’s coming, in which He cometh with glory from heaven, and will raise up all the saints,—Philip of the twelve Apostles, who is fallen asleep in Hierapolis, and two daughters of his who had grown old in virginity, and his other daughter having served her citizenship in the Holy Ghost rests in Ephesus³:

¹ See Plato, *Phadrus*, 276 E with Thompson’s note. Clement Al. was imbued with Plato. His counter-statement in *Strom.* vii 17 is much more deliberate: ‘The teaching of His Apostles concludes with the public ministry of Paul under Nero’ (*τελειοῦται μέχρι γε τῆς λειτουργίας*).

² *Essays*, p. 218.

³ The utter confusion which reigned in the Christian mind of the second century in Asia and elsewhere upon Philip and his three or four daughters who prophesied, and which has never been cleared up, offers a close parallel with the confusion of the two Johns. Is it conceivable that there were two Philips, one an evangelist-deacon, the other an

Ex xxix 6
LXX,
'crown'
A.V.

and also John, who lay on the Lord's breast, who had been (made) a priest (*ιερεὺς*) wearing the gold plate and a martyr and a teacher: he is laid to rest in Ephesus. And moreover Polycarp in Smyrna, etc." I regret that this simple, earnest, touching testimony of the Bishop of Ephesus has been condemned by Bp Lightfoot, who says¹: 'The whole passage is a very rude specimen of the florid Asiatic style, which *even* in its higher forms Cicero condemns as suited only to the ears of a people wanting in polish and

apostle, both having daughters who prophesied, but one having three and the other four, all long-lived, and all living in Asia Minor as pillars of the Church about 70—120 A.D.? I think the congregation of these two Philips and seven daughters of Philip will be beyond the belief of any reader. The unprejudiced mind will determine that there was one family and only one. Papias does not suggest there were two. It follows then that the ignorance and confusion of our authorities is very great indeed, and if so it follows further that we need not be surprised at the duplication of Johns in Asia.

The question of the Philips may be seen discussed by Lightfoot, *Coloss.* pp. 45 f. When Eusebius can identify the Apostle and the Evangelist, and Lightfoot can only maintain their difference, which he does very strongly, we are left with the dilemma that either the confusion of Eusebius and his authorities was great, so that their apparent nearness of time to the events availed nothing: or else that there were two families, the one Philip the Evangelist who had four daughters who prophesied in Acts xxi 8 but never came to Asia, and the other Philip the Apostle who had at least three daughters who prophesied and did come to Asia, and were buried at Hierapolis, except that one daughter was buried at Ephesus, Eus *HE* iii 30, 31, 39, v 17, 24. Harnack, *Chron.* 669, points out that the passage in Acts occurs in the *We*-document (part of xx, xxi), which is 'the most trustworthy portion of it.' Lightfoot's latest view is that there were seven daughters of Philip's who prophesied, but only three in Asia. The confusion is certain.

¹ *Galatians*, 6th edition, p. 362 note.

good taste.' Let any one read the extract in Greek and say whether it is not as good in style as all the other Christian remains of the second century, far better than some, and infinitely superior to the Apocalypse. (See the Appendix to this chapter.) The Bishop of Ephesus did not essay to rival the orators of 250 years before his time, nor should he be tried by their standard and condemned. However Lightfoot admits that it is possible that John wore the gold plate. This might seem to point to a claim similar to that made by James, the Lord's brother, at Jerusalem, if we were to regard the statement of Epiphanius¹. At the same time it is certain that the gold plate was a remnant of the high-priest's dress, which marked him both as Prophet, using his own Urim and Thummim for prophetical purposes, and as belonging to the Sanhedrim of which he was always head (Nasi). There is no meaning at all in the statement if applied to John the Evangelist; who certainly was neither a Jewish nor a heathen priest, and *ἱερεὺς* could not in those days mean a Christian priest. But there is quite meaning enough in it, if applied to the Seer John who had belonged to the Sanhedrim and who was Prophet as well as Elder, though not of course High-priest. In a distant country like Asia, he might have worn, or more probably been supposed to wear, a symbol, which after 70 A.D. there was no living man to wear. It was but a memento! The difficulty

Ex xxviii
36, xxix 6

Num xxvii
21, Deut
xxxiii 8,
1 Sam
xxviii 6

¹ *Her.* 78, Routh ii 28.

of supposing this John to be the Evangelist when this John was a Quartodeciman, and the Gospel is the reverse, is obvious at a glance.

Lastly we are told by Philippus of Side¹ that Papias said in his Second Book that 'John the Divine and James his brother were killed by the Jews².' Although there were Jews in Asia hostile enough, it is I think certain that Papias meant Jews in Judæa or possibly in Alexandria.

Eusebius on St John in Asia.

Now it is true that Eusebius held that St John himself was present in Asia after his exile at Patmos, but he depended upon tradition which is not further
HE iii 20 specified, and upon the statements of Irenæus and Clement which have been mentioned. He says: 'In Nerva's time also the Apostle John, according to the tradition of the ancients that we possess had received
HE iii 23 back his sojourn at Ephesus after his exile in the island.' 'In Ignatius' and Simeon's time John the Apostle and Evangelist, the same whom Jesus loved, was still surviving in Asia, and he governed (διέπειν) the Churches there, on his return from the exile in the island after Domitian's death. His survival to these times is sufficiently proved by two witnesses. I think

¹ Lightfoot, *Ap. Fathers*, p. 531.

² Harnack, *Chron.* p. 666, throws great doubt on the authenticity of this statement.

these are trustworthy (πιστοὶ ἂν εἶεν), as having presided over the true doctrine of the Church, as doubtless they did (εἰ δὴ τοιοῦτοι), namely Irenæus and Clement of Alexandria.' He then quotes Iren ii 22, 5 (see p. 230), and iii 3, 4 (see p. 231) and Clem Alex *Quis dives* 42 (see p. 246).

It must however be remembered that Eusebius thinks it reasonable to hold that Symeon son of *HE* iii 32 Clopas 'one of the eyewitnesses and earwitnesses of the Lord' also survived, according to Hegesippus, 'to the days of Trajan, when he was falsely attacked by the heresies and accused on the same pretext (as our Lord) under Atticus the proconsular. After being tormented many days he died a martyr, so that all were amazed, even the proconsular himself, that a man of 120 years of age should still endure: and he was ordered to be crucified.' It may be admitted that Eusebius, having before him the expositions of Papias (? 65 to ? 145 A.D. Lightfoot¹: wrote 140—160 A.D. Harnack) in five books, and the Ecclesiastical History of Hegesippus (? 120—? 180 A.D.) also in five books, has relied rather more upon the latter, and has disparaged the former as a person 'of very small capacity.' Nevertheless Eusebius says with perfect candour that Papias 'had been the contributing cause *Eus HE* why the great majority (πλείστοις ὅσοις) of the eccle- *iii 39*

¹ If Papias was born so early and was really a companion of Polycarp, it is very strange that he never saw St John, who is said to have been so active throughout proconsular Asia to the time of Trajan!

siastical writers who succeeded him were of the same opinion, having taken into consideration his antiquity; as for instance Irenæus, or any other who has exhibited similar tendencies of mind.' It must then, I think, remain for the present an open question whether Papias, who never says that he himself had seen St John, was not more trustworthy than Hegesippus or anyone else of the time in his statement that St John was put to death by the Jews. If he was, he never came to Asia at all after the Apocalypse was written, but had perished before 95 A.D., while his disciples alone attended the meeting—perhaps in Asia about 95 A.D.—and produced the Gospel as his, upon their guarantees which we read in John xx 30, 31, xxi 24.

The modern name of Ephesus is after all the name of the Seer.

Rarity of external testimony to the Fourth Gospel

100—170 A.D.

It is doubtful whether any theory of the origin of the Fourth Gospel hitherto propounded has fairly accounted for the strange fact of its being quoted and yet being so seldom quoted, in the first half of the second century. Let us suppose that St John's Gospel appeared in 85, as Zahn argues; or that it appeared 'not before 80 and not later than 110,' as Harnack thinks, and that it was really the 'Gospel of John the

Elder according to John the son of Zebedee': what a chorus of welcome would have greeted it! Whatever value was set upon the Synoptists it could not be denied that the disciple whom Jesus loved would command higher respect than any of the three authors of earlier Gospels. His work would have been 'known and read of all men' in Asia upon the hypothesis that St John came to Asia, and not only in Asia but in Syria and Alexandria and Rome also. How comes it then that Clement (after 95 A.D.) can make unmistakeable use of the Synoptists¹, and can quote the story of the Phœnix in proof of the resurrection, yet has no room for Jn xi or any other reference to the Gospel? If it should be necessary to allow more than five years for such an important work of the great Apostle to reach Rome, we may ask why should the author of the so-called Second Epistle of Clement (120—140 A.D.) be able to quote the Synoptists frequently, and the supposed Gospel of the Egyptians thrice, but have no reference to St John? Why should Ignatius quote Acts once and St Matthew four times and St Paul often, but cite no word of St John except the very tentative and hesitating reference to Jn iii 8? His words are 'Yet the spirit is not deceived, being from GOD, for it knoweth whence it cometh and whither it goeth, and it searcheth out the hidden things.' This remark² pre- Ap ii 23 supposes Jn iii 8, but appears to be a correction or

¹ Clem. *Cor.* 13, 24, 46.

² See also p. 170 above.

supplement of its meaning by the addition of a strong statement in favour of prophetic readers who might consider the Evangelist unfair to the prophetic spirit which had ruled the Asiatic Churches for so long, under the authority of John the Elder. We have observed above (p. 12) that Ignatius' letters are strongly charged with episcopal authority—in fact he recognises the secondary¹ position of the Elders—but it would be a mistake to suppose that he is thereby the more able to enhance the Fourth Gospel which was competing for the Elders' acceptance in 115 A.D. Perhaps he would have done so had it been available for his purpose. It was not available only because it was still hard for them to accept it.

Let us take another instance. Lightfoot, as we have seen, fixed 70–79 as the date of the Epistle of Barnabas. If so, all the supposed references in it to the Fourth Gospel are probably only imaginary². The

¹ *Eph.* 2 'submitting yourselves to your Bishop and body of Elders,' *Eph.* 20 see p. 8.

Magn. 2 'the Deacon Zotion is subject to the Bishop as unto the grace of GOD, and to the Elders as unto the law of Jesus Christ.'

Magn. 6 'the Bishop presiding after the likeness of GOD and the Elders after the likeness of the council of the Apostles, with the Deacons also who are most dear to me.'

Magn. 7 'do nothing without the Bishop and the Elders.'

Magn. 13 'with your revered Bishop and with the fitly wreathed spiritual circlet of your Elders, and with the Deacons who walk after GOD.'

Trall. 13 'submitting yourselves to the Bishop as to the commandment, and also to the body of Elders.'

² See the quotation from Keim, *Jesus von Nazara*, i 141 ff. in Sanday's *Gospels of the Second Century*, p. 270.

scope of this work prevents me from treating of this question here, but I venture to think that in fixing so early a date Lightfoot surrenders several points which would seem to make in favour of the author of Barnabas knowing the Fourth Gospel. I hazard the theory that the author of Barnabas is a genuine Prophet writing to Prophets in order to disillusion their minds of Jewish preconceptions or rather to eradicate if possible their strong Jewish prejudices. He treats the Jews as a people who have for ever forfeited all right to preeminence. On the one hand he delivers the time-honoured command of the Christian Prophets, 'Thou shalt guard the things which thou didst receive by tradition, neither adding to them nor taking from them.' On the other he says, of the Jewish Prophets, ^{Bar 19} 'The Prophets prophesied concerning Him having ^{Ap xxii 18,} their grace from Him. But He himself endured ^{19, iii 11} that He might destroy death and shew forth the resurrection of the dead, for that He must needs be manifested in the flesh.' On the one hand he says, ^{Bar 5} 'He hath given the covenant, but they themselves ('the first people,' meaning the Jews) were not found ^{Bar 14} worthy to receive it by reason of their sins.' On the other, 'He was made manifest in order that they might be perfected in their sins, and we might receive the ^{ib} covenant through Him that inherited it.' On the one hand he says, 'It is written, Ye shall hallow *the Sabbath* of the Lord with pure hands and with a ^{Bar 15} pure heart': on the other, 'We keep *the eighth day* for

Bar 15

Bar 16

rejoicing, in the which also Jesus rose from the dead and having been manifested ascended into the heavens.' On the one hand, 'these wretched men (the Jews) set their hope on the building (of the temple)': on the other 'GOD truly dwelleth in our habitation within us.' And so on. Many more passages might be quoted. There is no quotation of the Fourth Gospel, but there are thoughts on every page which exhibit the same point of view which that Gospel takes. If we were told by authority that the author of Barnabas, who is said by Lightfoot to be an Alexandrian, wrote it in order to prepare the way for an Alexandrine Gospel, the statement would be hard indeed to reject. I believe that the author had seen the Gospel; that he wrote nearer to 110 than to 70 A.D.; and that his object was to dispose the minds of Prophets and prophetical congregations towards the reception of it.

I must however content myself with saying in view of the above-mentioned phenomena, and those of Justin's quotations and others, that the reason why the Fourth Gospel is not more often and freely quoted is that it came forward as a controversial work in the higher sense, a work directed against some of the most cherished doctrines of the Asiatic Christians, a work of a far more philosophical kind, and of a more organised purpose than that of the Synoptists, whose colouring and whose sayings are freshly gathered, but whose cast of mind was (to use the phrase of Irenæus and of Acts) archaic and old-fashioned. Though the

opinion be conjectural that St John went to live at Alexandria himself, it is certain that the author of the Fourth Gospel was acquainted with much Alexandrine thought; and as it used to be supposed that he emigrated from Palestine to Asia, so now it may become in time quite as easy to habituate the mind to the idea that he migrated to Alexandria, in which busy hive of Jewish life and early cradle of Christian belief he was surrounded by disciples who induced him to 'write these things.' Their high endeavour *Jn xx 31* was to bring the Christian life, expressed as it had been hitherto in terms of Judaic thought, into fuller and closer relation with the highest thought of all the ages. How far St John himself was enabled by the spirit of Christ that was in him to perform this by writing 'the Gospel according to John,' we may be still unable to discover: and doubtless before it was equal to the task, his mind must have undergone conversion since the years 33-36. Nevertheless we are no longer bound to increase the difficulty by supposing that between the action of Acts viii 14 and the writing of *Jn xx 31* we must make room for the destined historian of the Light of the World to pass first into a lurid phase of intense ardour for prophetic Apocalypse, and afterwards out of it into the daylight again.

ADDITIONAL NOTE TO CHAPTER IX.

Solecisms of the Seer's Greek.

THE solecisms, or grammatical errors, of the Seer pervade every page of Ap, and not only distinguish it from every book of the Bible except 2 Jn and 3 Jn, but serve as a guarantee for the unity of its authorship in its present form, for they are more or less regular and recurrent irregularities. One of the strongest points of Vischer's hypothesis is that it fully recognises their ubiquity, and accounts for this by the theory that the book as we have it was translated from Hebrew into Greek, and at the same time interpolated by one and the same hand. And in fact their ubiquity finally disposes of every theory which would represent Ap as composed by different Greek writers at different times from 68 onwards.

In order to give the English reader some idea of the extent of these blunders, which are such that they would disgrace the exercise of an English fifth-form school-boy, an attempt is here made to reproduce some specimens. We may grant that one or two are

intentional; but it is undeniable that most are hopelessly bad Greek, and serve no purpose of the author whatever. There are very many besides (see Art. 'Apocalypse' in *Encyclopædia Biblica*); some are not reproducible without too great an effort of language.

i 4 from he that is and the was and he that cometh.

i 5 and from Jesus Christ, he who is the true witness.

ii 18 thou allowest thy wife Jezebel, she who calls herself prophetess.

iii 12 He that overcometh I will make him a pillar.

iii 12 The name of the new Jerusalem, she that cometh down...

v 11 The number of them was 10,000 times 10,000, they saying,...

vi 1 And I saw when the Lamb opened one of the seals.

vii 4 And I heard the number of them that had been sealed, 144,000, they that had been sealed from every tribe.

vii 9 Behold a great multitude, which no man could number it [this Hebraism occurs often],...they standing before the throne and before the Lamb, them clothed with white garments, and palms in their hands.

viii 9 And there died the third part of sea-creatures, they that had life.

ix 14 I heard one voice from the horns of the golden altar before God, a man saying to the sixth angel, he that hath the trumpet.

x 8 And the voice which I heard from heaven again speaking with me and saying...

xi 1 And there was given me a reed like a rod, which saith...

xiv 6 And I saw another angel flying...he which saith...

xiv 12 Here is the endurance of the saints, they which keep the commandments...

xiv 14 And upon the cloud one sitting likened a Son of Man.

xvi 12 And its water was dried up, that the way of the kings may be prepared.

xvii 8 And they that dwell on the earth shall be astonished,...of those which see the beast...

xviii 12 their merchandise of gold and of silver &c....and every (accusative case) wood &c....and of horses &c., and souls (accusative case) of men.

xix 6 And he subdued the dragon, he that is the serpent.

xxi 27 And there shall not enter into it anything that is unclean and he who maketh abomination and falsehood, except they whose names &c....

iv 7 And the third living thing, a man having the face as of a human being.

v 6 A lamb, a thing standing as slain, a man having seven heads....

v 6 which are the seven spirits of GOD, men sent into all the earth.

v 13 and all things in them, I heard men saying...

ix 4 that they may not kill them, but that they shall be tormented.

xi 15 And there were great voices in heaven, men saying...

xvii 3 I saw a woman seated on to a scarlet beast, a man full of names of blasphemy, he having seven heads....

xvii 16 And the ten heads which thou sawest and the beast, these men shall hate the harlot.

iii 2 Stablish the last things which was about to die.

iii 4 A few names in Sardis which has not defiled their garments.

iv 5 Seven lamps of fire burning before the throne, which is the Seven Spirits.

iv 8 The four living things is full of eyes...

iv 14 The four living things was saying Amen.

ix 20 The devils and the idols...which is not able to see &c.

xi 13 There was killed in the earthquake 7,000 names of men.

xv 4 Because thy just sentences was declared.

xvi 14 For they is spirits of devils doing signs.

xviii 3 For all the nations has drunk of the wine....

xviii 23 For all the nations was seduced.

Misuse of participles has been referred to above. Misuse of prepositions is common. Appalling false concords of gender occur in xiv 9, where 'the wine-press' is feminine and masculine in one breath; in xix 20, where 'the fire' is of the same two genders at once: in xxi 14, where 'the wall' is neuter and masculine at once.

One concluding instance must be cited. In iv 11 the words of the Seer overcame the A.V. translators, who boldly took refuge in 'for thy pleasure *they are* and were created,' διὰ τὸ θέλημά σου ἦσαν καὶ ἐκτίσθησαν. This position, however, was abandoned in the R.V., which says more literally, 'they were, and were created.' The false concord, however, can only be given literally as 'they was, and was created.' Unfortunately no Greek writer of any age could possibly allow that 'all things were,' because things *become* and are transitory, whereas realities alone have eternal existence. The whole of life is comprehended to a Greek mind under the great distinction between Being and Becoming. This is one of the peculiar features of the Greek mind, and separates it from every other mind. The horror which such a statement of Ap would produce upon the mind of the Evangelist of the Fourth Gospel, quite apart from the false concord, can hardly be imagined. He has solemnly and beautifully set forth the truth: 'In the beginning was the Word...all things *became* through Him (i 1, 3).' Things—all things—certainly to him 'were not'; they

became ; they were created. The only explanation of the solecism of Ap iv 11 is that the Seer was no Greek scholar. And it is quite impossible that the Evangelist can have gone over and interpolated the Apocrypha without correcting this and the other solecisms. We must therefore hold that Harnack's present view (pp. 219, 229 n.) is untenable.

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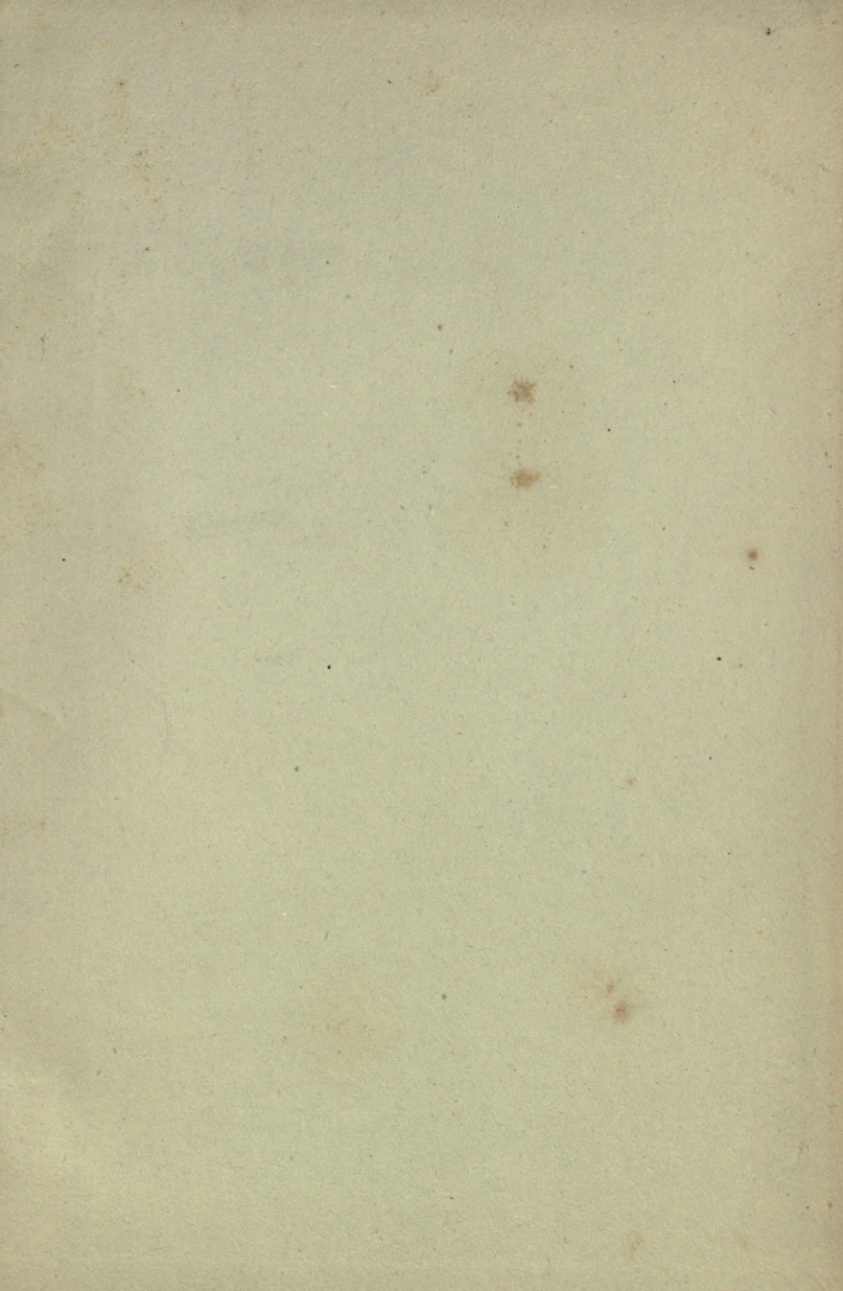
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